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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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SECOND EDITION

**THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING?**

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**MAGAZINE TWIST HEAVEN AND EARTH**

Page 12

**CHINESE CHECKERS**

Page 6

**A CAMEL CALLED GOLDA**

Magazine Page 10

**MAGAZINE Page 8 LIKE CLOCKWORK**

## Government not ready for \$7b. bank-share payout

By PINHAS LANDAU  
Post Finance Reporter

Justice Moshe Bejski, speaking in public on the matter for the first time, launched a blistering attack yesterday on the government's failure to prepare for the \$7 billion redemption of "arrangement" bank shares that it is obligated to make in October 1988.

Bejski, the man who chaired the judicial commission of inquiry into the bank share collapse of 1983, broke his self-imposed silence to chastize the Treasury and the Bank of Israel for failing to find permanent solutions to the flaws that the bank share collapse had revealed in the Israeli financial system.

He warned that inaction could bring about another hastily contrived solution along the lines of the current bank share arrangement.

"Usually, someone who has been scolded by hot water is careful even regarding cold, but it seems that with the bank shares that is not the case," noted Bejski.

He was especially severe in criticizing Capital Markets Commissioner Yehuda Drori, whose earlier presentation had attempted to show that the multi-billion dollar arrangement, under which the government has agreed to redeem the bank shares at the pre-share cash price, could be broken down into smaller and more manageable sums.

Bejski tore apart Drori's analysis, ridiculing the Treasury official's casual dismissal of amounts of \$1b.-1.5b. as "no problem," and as presenting no difficulty from a budgetary point of view.

"I am saddened by what I heard today," Bejski said, "because I know one thing — that the weighty issues involved require prolonged preparation and planning if they are to be dealt with effectively, and yet, a whole year after publication of the commission's report, nothing serious has been done."

Bejski had not been scheduled to speak and did so only when pressed by Hebrew University Professor Marshall Sarnat, who organized the seminar and had been a member of the commission.

Earlier speakers had included Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno, Avi Ben-Bassat, deputy head of the Bank of Israel's research department, and Drori. Ben-Bassat is overseeing the central bank's planning on the bank share issue.

Bruno's opening remarks were designed only, as he put it, "draw the outline map" of the areas, to be discussed, while Drori reviewed suggestions for handling the redemption of the bank shares in October 1987 and October 1988, and Ben-Bassat the future structure of the banking system and ownership of individual banks.

(Continued on Page 17)

## Peres, Shamir face off on international parley

By LEA LEVAVI and ASHER WALLFISH

An international conference on the Middle East would be "national suicide," Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir declared last night in his fiercest ever attack on the policy of Vice Premier Shimon Peres. "It would be a loss of our independence and sovereignty. The whole idea is crazy and illogical."

Fortunately, continued the prime minister, the country was not in the Alignment's hands only, and the Likud would see to it that the conference did not take place.

Shamir was addressing the Liberal Party young guard at ZO'A House in Tel Aviv.

Despite the unprecedented fierceness of Shamir's attack, Peres himself refused to react last night upon



Shimon Peres



Yitzhak Shamir

his return from the Socialist International meeting in Rome.

However sources close to the vice premier said that Shamir's attempts to scare the Israeli public regarding the peace conference were "ridiculous."

Shamir would not have any effect on Peres's moves to promote the peace process.

The source said that Peres would continue his efforts to reach direct negotiations through a conference.

As for Shamir's style and language, said the sources, "they speak for themselves."

Peres recalled that there had been similar debates on Camp David. "Debates are legitimate," he said. "There is more than one opinion and it is too early to say who is right."

On the possibility of early elections he said: "I am not looking for the end of the government but for the beginning of peace."

Shamir's strong words are seen as reflecting his intense anger at being unable to halt Peres's escalating campaign for the international conference.

Shamir is clearly incensed by statements from President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and from leaders in other countries, that the objections of the Israeli prime minister to the international conference should be taken into account. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



Demjanjuk comes to life in court yesterday.

(Yaron Kaminsky)

## Unrest in the West Bank

By JOEL GREENBERG and JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Carfews were clamped yesterday on three refugee camps and the town of Ramallah, as a fresh wave of protests in solidarity with hunger-striking Palestinian security prisoners swept the West Bank.

Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev yesterday denied inmates' charges that prison policies had been changed by Prison Service Commissioner David Maimon. "The prison commissioner does not set policy — not the incumbent one, not the previous one nor the one who preceded him. The minister sets policy," Bar-Lev said.

In yesterday's disturbances, two Israeli motorists were lightly hurt when stones were hurled at their vehicles, smashing the cars' windshields. A woman was struck in the face by a stone near the Balata refugee camp on the outskirts of Nablus and a man was hit in the head with a rock near Ramallah.

In downtown Ramallah, the driver of an army truck fired in the air to disperse protesters after they hurled stones at his vehicle, smashing its windshield. Students at the A-Tira teachers' seminar left classes and burned tyres on a road near the campus. The seminar was ordered closed until April 24 by OC Central Command Aluf Ehud Barak.

A-Tira was the third educational institution closed in the West Bank in the past two days. The Hebrew Polytechnic and the France school (Continued on Page 17)

## The accused speaks

By ERNIE MEYER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

John Demjanjuk, the hulking, silent central figure of the trial now in its eighth week at Jerusalem's Binyanei Ha-Uma, yesterday took on a new dimension — that of speech.

The accused speaking in a rich, deep voice in his native Ukrainian, took part in his own defence, joining his three lawyers in the cross-examination of prosecution witness Wolfgang Scheffler.

The move, which came on the second day of often laborious questioning of the German history professor by the defence, had both seasoned observers and bored spectators leaning forward in their seats.

Demjanjuk had spoken out only once before, when he uttered two Hebrew words, *ata shakran* (you are a liar), in reaction to a statement by

Treblinka survivor Eliyahu Rosenberg.

During the two preceding days of questioning by prosecutor Michael Shaked, Scheffler had given a ringing endorsement of the authenticity of the Travnik identity card. The ID card, which bears Demjanjuk's name and what is claimed to be his photograph, is a key piece of evidence in the case. The defence says it is a Soviet forgery with the photo (Continued on Page 17)

## U.S. cautions against 'premature optimism'

U.S. officials yesterday strongly cautioned against any premature optimism that an international conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict was about to get off the ground.

They insisted that, while some recent progress has indeed been achieved in convening such a conference, there were still numerous unresolved issues.

"At best, it was still a matter of 'months' rather than 'weeks,'" an informed U.S. source predicted yesterday. Another U.S. source cited the continuing split in Israel on the whole question of an international conference.

However, both Vice Premier Peres, returning from talks with Soviet officials, and British officials who briefed *The Jerusalem Post* on the matter, were more optimistic.

Compiled from reports by Wolf Blitzer, David Horowitz, Jonathan Karp and Robert Rosenberg.

the talks between Jordan's King Hussein and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London were far more optimistic.

The Americans denied that there was any "serious" difference of opinion on the matter of an international conference between Secretary of State George Shultz and his top Middle East adviser, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Richard Murphy.

They said that both Shultz and Murphy remained rather sceptical of the concept even though they have agreed to pursue any legitimate avenue that would lead to direct Arab-Israeli peace negotiations and a comprehensive settlement.

On his return from Europe yesterday Peres said that an international conference for Middle East peace must be convened within the next

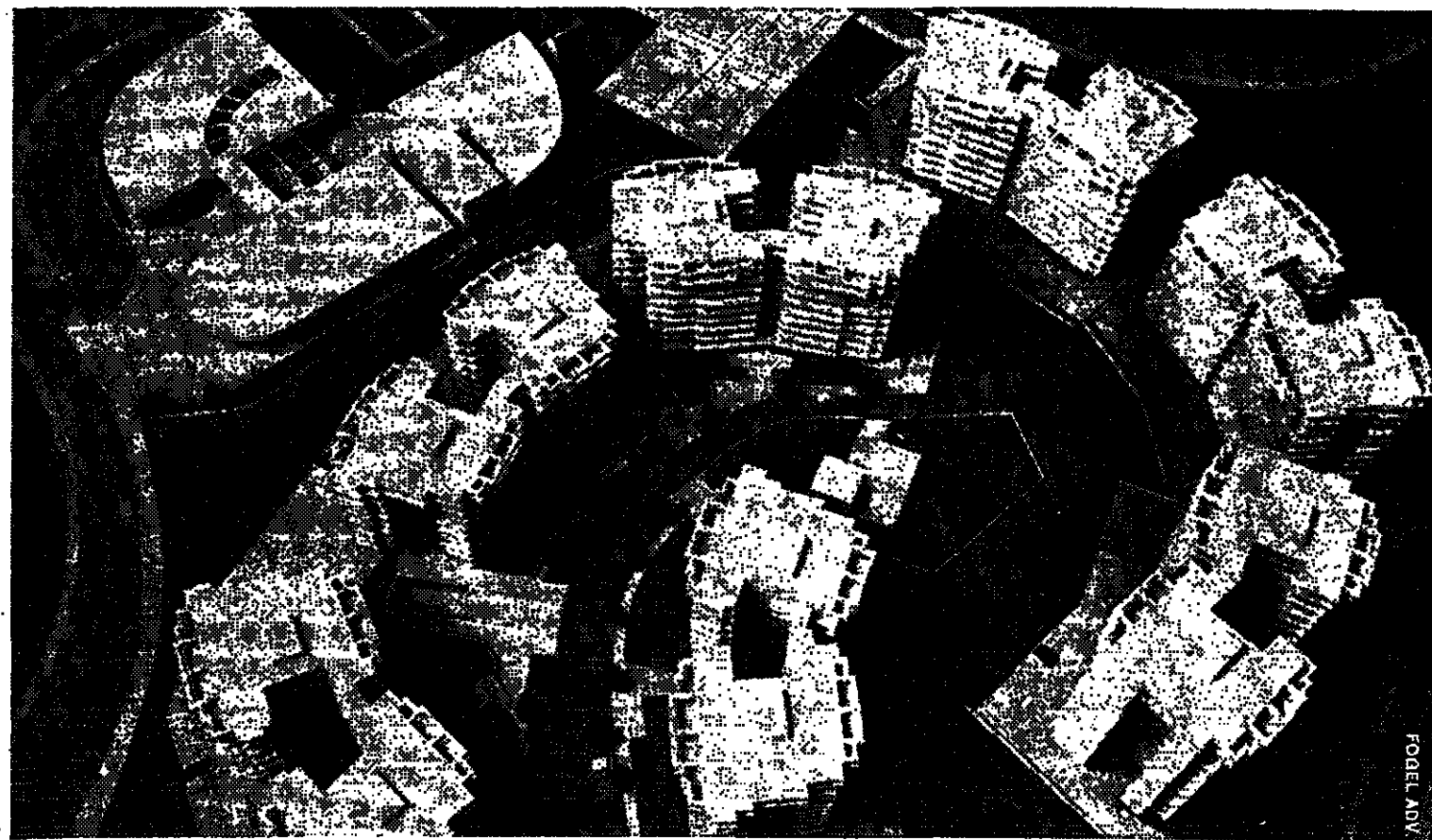
few months, or the opportunity would be "washed away."

Peres told reporters that he accomplished what he had set out to do in discussions with Spanish and Italian leaders, and after talks with two Soviet delegates to the Socialist International, he was returning "encouraged" about the prospects for such a conference.

Peres was careful to stress that the international conference was not an end in itself, but only a means toward the final goal of peace through direct negotiations between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians.

(Continued on Page 19)

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CHICAGO	1	33	11	52
COPENHAGEN	1	34	4	39
FRANKFURT	6	43	18	64
GENEVA	9	48	14	57
Helsinki	2	27	4	39
HONGKONG	21	70	24	75
Johannesburg	12	54	29	84
LONDON	13	50	18	64
LONDON	9	48	15	55
MADRID	10	50	16	61
MONTREAL	3	37	9	48
NEW YORK	7	45	14	56
OSLO	-2	28	7	45
PARIS	10	50	16	61
RIO DE JANEIRO	20	68	24	76
SAO PAULO	17	66	22	73
STOCKHOLM	-4	21	5	41
TOKYO	10	50	19	66
TORONTO	1	34	12	54
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### THE WEATHER

Forecast: Pleasant.  
Outlook for Sabbath: Same.

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max	Min
Jerusalem	66	9-15	17	18
Golan	64	7-16	18	18
Nahariya	63	10-15	16	16
Safed	64	11-20	21	21
Haifa Port	45	11-23	24	24
Tiberias	45	11-23	24	24
Nazareth	62	7-20	22	22
Afula	62	11-18	20	20
Somaria	72	13-17	20	20
Tel Aviv	63	12-20	22	22
B-G Airport	35	12-28	30	30
Jericho	70	14-21	22	22
Gaza	63	10-20	22	22
Beer Sheva	38	16-29	31	31
Eilat	38	16-29	31	31

## Sinai travellers can go kosher

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Israeli tourists who cross the border to Egypt during Pessah will be allowed to bring food with them, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday. A special arrangement for the holiday was worked out in contacts between Israeli and Egyptian officials, in order to enable Israelis to have kosher for Pessah food while spending the holiday in Egypt and Sinai. Egypt previously barred imports of food saying it wanted to prevent radio-active contaminated products being brought in.

## Shamir to Paris

PARIS. — Prime Minister Shamir will pay an official visit to Paris on April 25, the French government announced yesterday. The three-day visit will come two weeks after a visit by Saudi Arabia's King Fahd.

## East Jerusalem weekly becomes daily newspaper

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
The East Jerusalem *An-Nahar* weekly is to begin daily publication today. The daily appearance of *An-Nahar*, considered a pro-Jordanian paper, is an apparent attempt to compete directly with the pro-PLO Arabic press in the territories. Publisher Othman Hallaq said the daily would have 12 pages of news and features, and would be printed at the paper's new press. The staff of *An-Nahar* has been expanded, he said.

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

# Churchman's criticisms shock Israeli authorities

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A local Roman Catholic churchman shocked participants at a dinner devoted to interfaith understanding by issuing a sharp and what Israeli officials later described as an unfounded attack on the Israel government.

Last night Fr. Carlo Ceccitelli the Custos or head, of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land held urgent talks with Daniel Rossing, head of the Religious Affairs Ministry's Christian Communities Department concerning the incident. Ceccitelli, who had been out of the country when the incident occurred, denied that the unnamed clergyman had any mandate from the Custos or that he represented the Custos in any way.

The incident took place at a recent dinner honouring Dom Ivo Lorscheiter, President of the Brazilian National Council of Bishops, who visited Israel together with Rabbi Henry Sobel, the coordinator of the Brazilian National Commission of Religious Dialogue between Catholics and Jews.

Sobel said at the dinner that the Brazilian Conference of Bishops was outstanding, both for its work in furthering understanding between the country's Catholic majority and

its small Jewish community, and for its sympathetic stand regarding Israel and Zionism.

The Jerusalem churchman then praised the spirit of cooperation between Catholics and Jews in Brazil, but continued by comparing this cooperation unfavourably with the situation in Israel.

"Cannot the Catholic Church here reasonably expect that its treatment at the hands of the Jewish State be at least characterized by a minimum of courtesy and correctness?" he asked.

He charged that "for many months" the government had "ceased to answer or even acknowledge" receipt of "even the most urgent letters, notes and appeals of the highest Catholic authorities in the land" concerning "some very serious issues pending at present between the government and the Catholic Church here."

Describing the situation as "exquisitely Kafkaesque," the churchman said "How are we to carry on a dialogue with people who steadfastly refuse to answer their mail?... How are we to relate to people whose preferred method of relating to us is by verbal diktat?"

During a later clarification of his charges, he revealed that the issues

in dispute involved tax exemption and security checks of church officials. He singled out the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Jerusalem Municipality as those whom he held responsible, adding that on one occasion the foreign minister himself had not replied to a letter from church officials.

Israeli officials were profoundly disturbed, not only by the charges, but by the fact that they were made during a dinner which had been planned to foster goodwill and understanding.

Earlier this year, the same churchman had been an important behind-the-scenes figure in the visit of New York Cardinal John O'Connor, a visit that was marred when the cardinal's original plans to pay formal calls on Israeli officials were cancelled. According to some observers, it was Jerusalem Church officials who had been influential in having O'Connor change his plans.

Government officials were hesitant to reply to the charges, feeling that any answer might open a public debate and thus impair what they described as the generally good relations between the church authorities and the government.

## Refuseniks urge firm stand on emigration

By WALTER RUBY

NEW YORK. — A group of leading refuseniks — including Yosef Begun and Vladimir Slepak — has sent a letter to Soviet Jewry groups here calling on Western Jews not to accept the emigration of less than 50,000 Soviet Jews a year.

The letter is viewed as a response to understandings reportedly reached recently between the Soviet government and a Jewish delegation headed by Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

The refuseniks urged that emigration be given priority over improving life for Jews in the USSR, warned that the Soviet government is increasing its use of "knowledge of state secrets" as an excuse for not allowing refuseniks to leave, and admonished that in the future Jewish leaders from abroad should meet with refuseniks before making agreements with the Soviet government.

A number of refuseniks have complained that Abram and Bronfman briefed the refuseniks only after they reportedly arrived at agreements with the Soviet leadership.

Among those signing the statement other than Begun, and Slepak, were Victor Brailovsky, Alex Ioffe, Yuri Koshorovsky, Alexander Lerner, Lev Sud, Lev Elbert, and Eleazar Yusefovitch.

In another development, the executive committee of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ) voted on Wednesday night to quit the President's Conference because, they said, they were not consulted by Abram before he went to Moscow with Bronfman.

The UCSJ, the largest grassroots Soviet Jewry group in the U.S., has over 40 affiliates with some 77,000 members. The UCSJ is closely linked with the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Centre in Jerusalem, and like SJEIC has denounced the reported Bronfman-Abram "deal" as a "sell-out."

Rabbi Avi Weiss, national chairman of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (SSSJ), meanwhile, said his organization will likely leave the National Conference for Soviet Jewry, which like the Conference of Presidents, is headed by Abram.

## PARLEY

(Continued from Page One)  
be set aside and that Peres's advocacy of the initiative should be regarded as the true voice of Israel.

The timing of Shamir's broadside is also seen as important. After Peres reaped so many headlines during the week, Shamir felt it was high time to match his foreign minister.

The two men are expected to meet today or early on Sunday when Shamir is to be briefed by Peres on his talks in Rome, particularly with the two Soviet representatives.

Following that meeting, Peres's aides can again be expected to disseminate a dramatic version of Peres's achievements. What Shamir hoped to do in his ZOA house speech last night was to try and steal Peres's thunder.

One well-placed member of Herut not in the Shamir camp told *The Jerusalem Post* that Shamir feels immeasurably stronger in his position as the head of his party, and has already started thinking about the thrust of his election campaign.

Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i told Israel Radio last night that he foresees early elections, possibly even this year, because friction between Peres and Shamir has effected the government's ability to function.

## Soviet envoy known as Mideast specialist

By WOLF BLITZER

WASHINGTON. — Alexander Zotov, one of two senior Soviet officials with whom Foreign Minister Shimon Peres met in Rome this week, was a relatively well-known figure among Middle East specialists in Washington during his many years at the Soviet Embassy in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Zotov, an Arabic-speaking specialist on the Middle East who had earlier served in several Arab countries, was the embassy's senior Middle East staffer. He reported to the ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin, who today is the top foreign policy adviser to General-Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

Zotov, who together with other Soviet diplomats also monitored the Jewish community for the embassy, was especially active in establishing contacts among congressional staffers, academics, Jewish political activists and journalists.

He was seen in Washington as representative of a new breed of Soviet diplomats — well-dressed,

sophisticated, highly educated and savvy — whose English was fluent and not heavily accented.

During conversations with this reporter, for example, he always projected a seemingly reasonable attitude towards Israel, insisting that Moscow would quickly restore full diplomatic relations with Israel if only some serious progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process could be achieved. He also demonstrated a very thorough knowledge of political developments in Israel.

## More news page 17

In Rome to attend the meeting of the Socialist International, Zotov was identified as a deputy to Karen Brutents, the No. 2 man in the Soviet Communist Party's International Department and an expert on the Middle East. Both attended the meeting as observers. They met for several hours with Peres who was also attending the conference.

## Herzog deplores arm sales

BERLIN (AP). — President Chaim Herzog stepped into a controversy over proposed West German arms sales to Saudi Arabia yesterday, saying West Germany has an "historical responsibility" to avoid aiding Israel's enemies.

Herzog, nearing the end of a five-day trip to West Germany, said yesterday morning that Bavarian premier Franz-Josef Strauss's call on Wednesday for arms exports to Saudi Arabia was "out of place" during an official Israeli visit to this

country. In a dinner speech in West Berlin last night, Herzog said West Germany had an obligation to refrain from aiding Israel's enemies in light of the mass murder of Jews by the Nazi regime.

"Germany has an historical responsibility to help Israel in the vital task of survival and to abstain from any acts which may strengthen those who maintain that they are at war with Israel and are the declared enemy," Herzog said.

## Hizbullah is a terror group, court rules

LOD (Itim). — A 20-year-old member of the Hizbullah terror organization was sentenced yesterday to 25 years in prison by the military court here.

The man, Adel Hassan Tormus, was caught in 1985 firing Katyushas

from Lebanon in the direction of Kiryat Shmona. The court ruled that Hizbullah is a terrorist organization and sentenced him under a law banning membership in such an organization. His accomplice was sentenced to 10 years in prison.



Soldiers question West Bank residents in the streets of Ramallah yesterday after the city was put under curfew. (AFP)

## CGS Moshe Levy:

# 'IDF strikes foil terror in Lebanon'

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — IDF air strikes against enemy installations in southern Lebanon have forced terrorists to leave their camps before dawn and to man air defence units rather than attack the Galilee, Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy said yesterday.

Levy discussed the effectiveness of these attacks at a farewell dinner hosted by defence reporters at Beit Sokolow here.

Several hours earlier, helicopter gunships raided enemy installations at the Ein el-Hilwe refugee camp south of Sidon. The IDF spokesman identified the sites as "terrorist targets" including three buildings that served as headquarters and offices.

Reports from Lebanon indicated that such attacks inflict few casualties, but insisted yesterday that the raids were "very much worth it."

Thousands of terrorists must leave their locations every morning before dawn in fear of an air force raid, he argued. They cannot establish themselves in convenient, permanent bases which could serve as easy targets for the air force pilots.

## Jewish terrorists get home leave

Six members of the Jewish underground now serving jail sentences are being permitted to visit their families during the Pessah holiday, Prisons Service Commissioner David Maimon announced yesterday. Their holiday from prison begins on Monday.

Of the six, Shaul Nir, Uzi Sharbat and Menahem Livni, were sentenced to life terms. They and Yehuda Etzion, who was given a seven-year sentence, have been given 48-hour leaves. Barak Nir, who was sentenced to six years, has been given 72 hours' leave, and Yitzhak Ganiram, jailed for seven years, was allowed 98 hours.

The members of the Jewish underground were sent to jail for the killing of students at the Hebron Islamic College and for attempts to assassinate Arab mayors in the early 1980s. (Itim)

## Prize-winner decries

# 'unnatural structures' of power in S. Africa

By ANDY COURT

For The Jerusalem Post

The lowest price that South Africa's white ruling class must pay to achieve fraternity with the blacks is "the destruction of the unnatural structures of power that define the South African state," South African writer J.M. Coetzee said yesterday as he received the Jerusalem Prize for literature.

Coetzee described South Africa today as a place where "the deformed and stunted relations between human beings" manifest themselves psychologically in "a deformed and stunted inner life."

The country's literature suffers from the same deformity, he said. "It is exactly the kind of literature you would expect people to write from a prison."

Vive Premier Shimon Peres praised Coetzee's courage and literary excellence.

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek presented Coetzee with the prestigious \$5,000 prize, which is awarded every two years for writing "which supports the freedom of the individual in society."

The prize is part of the biennial Jerusalem International Book Fair. "In a society of masters and slaves, no one is free," said Coetzee. "The slave is not free because he is not his own master; the master is not

free because he cannot do without the slave."

The South African feels his unfreedom most keenly when "stepping down for a moment from his lonely throne, giving in to a wholly human and understandable yearning for fraternity with the people among whom he lives, he has discovered with a shock that fraternity itself is not to be had, no matter how compellingly felt the impulse on both sides," Coetzee said.

A price must be paid for such fraternity. "The vain and essentially sentimental yearning that expresses itself in the reform movement in South Africa today is a yearning to have fraternity without paying for it," Coetzee said. "The very lowest price is the destruction of the unnatural structures of power that define the South African state."

Like Don Quixote, whose flight of imagination ultimately leads to a surrender to reality, the South African writer cannot transcend his reality through his creative act.

Coetzee quoted Nietzsche, who said: "We have art so that we shall not die of the truth." In South Africa, said Coetzee, there is now too much truth for art to hold. "Truth by the bucketful, truth that overwhelms and swamps every act of the imagination."

With deep sorrow we announce that my faithful husband, our dear father, father-in-law and our sweet Opa

## LOUIS DE WILDE

passed away in Amsterdam on 27 Adar 5747 — March 28, 1987.

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Amstelveen: Marthi Hersher-de Wilde  
Israel: Hersher  
Ariel, Naftali, Orit  
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Our condolences to  
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Manager of British Airways, Israel  
on the death of his  
**Father**  
British Airways Staff, Israel

In memory of my husband  
**SHYCA KISSELEVITCH**  
and my grandson  
**SHAI**  
Both dearly loved and greatly missed.  
Rose Kislev

"The Lord Gave and the Lord has taken away" (Job 1:21).  
**GEORGE WALD**  
has passed into the presence of the Lord whom he loved and served.  
Funeral 3 p.m., Friday, April 10, Protestant Cemetery, Haifa.  
"For I know that my Redeemer liveth" (Job 19:25).

**HILDA RICHARD (Cohen)**  
ex-Bothaville, beloved sister and aunt  
passed away in Johannesburg on March 29, 1987.  
Deeply mourned by the  
Cohens, Balkinds, Zafirs and Binders

With immense grief, we announce the passing of our cherished mother

## ESTHER LERNER

Born in Antwerp, September 22, 1905.  
She left us on March 27, 1987, at Nahshonim.  
Her heroic attitude during the Nazi German occupation of Belgium, 1940-1944, will inspire us constantly  
We owe to this remarkable, cultivated lady our Jewish attachment to the duty of ethical behaviour.  
We shall never forget her life's motto:  
"The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want."  
Esther Lerner has blessed us with her love and her wisdom.

Children: Deborah, Chaja-Malka and Samson  
Son-in-law: Max Engelman  
Grandchildren: Gad Geva (Engelman) and his wife Colette (née Ital); Iris Engelman  
Great-grandchildren: Nir and Yael Geva

## RAYA BEN-DROR

has left us.  
The funeral took place yesterday in Jerusalem.  
The bereaved family:  
Rosine and Dov Ben-Dror  
and all her children  
and grandchildren  
Please refrain from condolence visits.



## Gorbachev cheered in streets of Prague

PRAGUE (Reuters). — Thousands of Czechoslovaks applauded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday as he walked through the centre of Prague only hours after arriving in the country.

Crowds of men, women and teenagers flocked to the historical city centre to catch a glimpse of the Kremlin leader as he walked, shaking hands and waving at the people.

The scenes took place in the same city where 19 years ago Czechoslovaks scrawled "Ivan go home" slogans on buildings after the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 that crushed the reforms of the "Prague Spring" era.

The warm response to Gorbachev reflected the keen interest many Czechoslovaks have taken in the changes he has mapped out in Soviet domestic policies.

Czechoslovakia's own leadership has remained virtually unchanged since being installed after the 1968 invasion and embarking on an unrelenting course of conservative Communism.

A western diplomat who watched the crowds wave, clap their hands and whistle in approval at Gorbachev and his wife Raisa said he had not seen such spontaneous scenes in Prague in years.

Czechoslovak President Gustav

Husak, who had talks with Gorbachev before the walkabout, accompanied him on the streets but the crowds' enthusiasm was unquestionably reserved for the Soviet leader.

One Prague college graduate spoke for many people when she said: "I'm a great fan of Gorbachev, and I really hope he succeeds in what he is doing."

Czechoslovak officials said 150,000 people had turned out earlier in the day to greet Gorbachev, who stopped and chatted as he walked to formal arrival and wreath-laying ceremonies.

Gorbachev has made a priority of injecting new dynamism into Communist bloc foreign and economic policies since he took power in March 1985.

But western diplomats said he would be unwilling to impose his views on Czechoslovak leaders, who have built political stability in the country by maintaining a delicate balance of power among themselves.

No details of Gorbachev's talks with Husak, 74, at Hradcany Castle overlooking the old city, emerged. Husak made clear last month that his ruling politburo was ready to embrace the principles of Gorbachev's reforms.



Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is given a traditional Czechoslovak welcome at Prague Castle yesterday. (Reuters telephoto)

### New fighting shakes capital

## More Syrian troops deploy in Beirut camps

BEIRUT (AP). — Syria reinforced its forces at two refugee camps and arranged evacuation of 45 wounded Palestinians yesterday.

But elsewhere in Beirut, Christian and Muslim militiamen traded artillery, rocket and machine gun fire across the capital's dividing Green Line in their first upsurge of civil-war hostilities this year.

Some 20 Syrian soldiers deployed around the Bourj al-Barajneh camp, beefing up an already 600-strong force that took up positions at the sprawling camp Wednesday, police said.

They said 70 Syrian commandos who had deployed around the nearby, much smaller Shatilla camp were joined by another 70 yesterday.

Dutchman Ben Aloys, 34, a staff nurse trapped in Bourj al-Barajneh for the past five months, said he ate mule and cat meat during the height of the starvation.

Also besieged with Aloys and British surgeon Pauline Cutting were Scottish nurse Sue Wighton, 27, and

an Austrian physiotherapist, who only identified himself by his first name of Hannes.

The four-member medical team hopes to leave the camp soon. They said they will not go out unless they get an escort, because they have received multiple death threats from Amal militiamen. "Amal militiamen told me they want to cut me to pieces," said Cutting.

Women and children from both camps have been allowed to come out once a day to buy food and return through fenced gates.

Amal militiamen, who maintain their siege of the two camps despite the Syrian intervention, allowed only fruit, vegetables and canned food to enter Shatilla. They prevented medicines and other supplies.

Amal has said it would lift the siege of both shantytowns only if Palestinian fighters withdrew from bluffs they captured from Amal near south Lebanon's port of Sidon.

## Mubarak tells PLO to stick with Jordan

RIYADH (AP). — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak urged the PLO to abrogate its accord with Jordan on joint moves for Mideast peace with Israel, a newspaper reported yesterday.

"There would be no wisdom whatsoever in annulling it, because they would be blowing up everything and putting (Jordan's) King Hussein in a tight corner," Mubarak said in an interview with the Saudi Arabian newspaper *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*.

"He (Hussein) wants to solve the (Palestinian) problem, and this would place him in a very difficult spot when he looks for PLO representation," Mubarak said. "And then I ask, what would be the alternative if they annul the accord?"

The possible abrogation of the accord, reached in February 1985 between Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, will be a major issue at the Palestine National Council session April 20 in Algiers.

Cancellation of the accord has been one of the conditions set by several Palestinian groups for realigning with Arafat and his mainstream Fatah group.

Arafat and other group leaders

are meeting ahead of the PNC in the Algerian capital beginning on Sunday against a backdrop of unconfirmed leaks that the accord may only be amended, and leaks from the radical factions that it should be abrogated even before the PNC meets.

It was still unclear if key radical leader George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine would attend the PNC meeting.

Nayef Hawatmeh's Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said that it would participate in the PNC session.

The Damascus-based Popular Front-General Command of Ahmad Jabril announced yesterday that it would not attend.

Mubarak also said in his remarks that if the international peace conference got off the ground, the Palestinians should be represented through a joint delegation with Jordan, and not in a single delegation for all the participating Arab parties.

"A joint Arab delegation would only explode from within," Mubarak said in the interview, recalling that it was Israel in 1977 that initially wanted the Arab parties represented in a single delegation.

## Iranians continue renewed offensive

NICOSIA (AP). — Iran said its forces launched a new offensive northeast of Baghdad yesterday as fighting raged near the southern port of Basra, two days after Iranian troops renewed their push toward Iraq's second-largest city.

Iran said its forces captured strategic Iranian heights occupied by Iraq since 1980 and inflicted heavy casualties on Iraqi troops in the new offensive.

In Geneva, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati yesterday made an urgent call for an international ban on chemical weapons, citing an "unprecedented level of the use" of such weapons.

As Velayati made his speech to the 40-nation Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Iranian news agency reported that Iraq had launched a fresh chemical-weapons attack on Iranian forces, advancing towards Basra.

Velayati also said Iran sent back a shipment of U.S.-supplied weapons when it learned the arms arrived via Israel.

Velayati gave no further details about the returned arms shipment but said his account was confirmed in a report by the U.S. Tower Commission, assigned to investigate the Iran arms sales scandal.

## S. Africa claims ANC terrorists plan to infiltrate

JOHANNESBURG (AP). — A top official says the government has learned that African National Congress terrorists have gathered in neighbouring countries to infiltrate South Africa and disrupt the May 6 white parliamentary elections.

Foreign Minister R.F. Botha said in a campaign speech Wednesday night that he had warned the governments of Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe to prevent the terrorists from entering South Africa or face retaliation.

"I urged them to stop these terrorists moving through their countries. If these terrorists proceed and cross into our territory and carry out their evil plan, our security forces will take whatever steps are necessary to retaliate and to protect our borders," Botha said.

## FOREIGN BRIEFS

### Resistance leader urges freedom for two Nazis

WASSENAAAR, Netherlands (AP). — A prominent Dutch resistance leader yesterday urged that the last two Nazi war criminals held in the Netherlands be pardoned.

Germans Franz Fischer, 86, and Ferdinand aus der Fuenten, 78, are two of only three well-known Nazi war criminals still serving life prison sentences for their World War II crimes. The other is Rudolf Hess, Hitler's former second-in-command, who is serving a life sentence at Spandau prison in Berlin.

"It is time the government resolves the matter and recommends the queen to pardon them," said Hans Teengs Gerritsen, a former leader of the Dutch resistance and an inmate of the Natzweiler and Dachau concentration camps for 1942-1945.

### Viennese children plant memorial forest

By MARTA HALPERT  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

VIENNA. — One hundred Jewish and non-Jewish Viennese pupils yesterday planted a memorial forest of 65,000 saplings in the outskirts of Vienna commemorating 65,000 Austrian Jews killed during the Holocaust.

In the presence of Israeli Charge d'Affaires, Gideon Yarden, Mayor Helmut Zilk assured the Jewish community that this is not the only action taken by the municipality to show its responsibility for the city's 8,000 Jews.

"Our love and affection and active friendship is based on our responsibility for our Jewish friends," he said. "Only one Vienna can survive, and that is the cosmopolitan, liberal city which is so proud of the contribution by its Jewish citizens."

### Dummy missile falls near couple walking dogs

LAPFORD, England (AP). — A Royal Air Force fighter plane dropped a dummy missile in a yard in southwest England, narrowly missing a couple walking their four dogs, the Defence Ministry said yesterday.

The Hawk jet fighter, on a training run from an air base in Devon, appeared to skirt a tree moments before dropping the air-to-air Sidewinder missile on Roger and Eileen Harris's lawn, the couple said.

"We think the plane actually touched the top of the tree," said Harris. "The missile somehow came detached from the plane. There was a terrific crash, and it split into four sections. The biggest bit looked like a bomb sticking out of a hole in the lawn about 20 metres away."

### Astronomers baffled, fascinated by supernova

SANTIAGO (AP). — A supernova that dimmed a little after its first sighting in February is increasing in brilliance every day, baffling and fascinating astronomers who say their theories will have to be rewritten.

"It is increasing at a steady two- to three-hundredths of a magnitude per day," said Robert Williams, head of the El Tololo Observatory in the Andean foothills 370kms. north of Santiago.

The supernova first was seen on February 23. Its appearance electrified stargazers, who turned scores of powerful earth-based and satellite telescopes on the phenomenon.

### Police, youths clash after IRA funeral

BELFAST (AP). — Hundreds of youths threw petrol bombs and rocks at police in Roman Catholic areas of West Belfast and set hijacked vehicles ablaze early yesterday after the funeral of a former IRA terrorist.

The funeral Wednesday of slain 41-year-old Laurence Marley had been postponed the previous two days by clashes between mourners and police seeking to stop the Irish Republican Army from turning it into a show of force.

### Soviet space module fails to dock completely

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Soviet Union's new Kvant space module failed yesterday to link up completely in a second docking attempt with the manned space station Mir. And ground control was deciding whether the mission could be saved.

The official Tass news agency said Kvant, described as a new type of craft, had functioned normally through every stage of rendezvous and docking before it hooked up with Mir.

## Moscow accuses U.S. of widespread spying

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Soviet Union yesterday accused Washington of sanctioning wholesale espionage against Soviet missions in the U.S. and said an American "spy campaign" against Moscow was aimed at stopping arms controls.

The accusations were delivered by a Foreign Ministry spokesman at a news conference called to counter U.S. allegations that Soviet intelligence had mounted a massive intelligence effort against the American embassy in Moscow.

Foreign and Soviet reporters at the crowded conference were shown cabling, boxes and other equipment said to be bugging devices found recently in Soviet offices and homes in Washington, New York and San Francisco.

Ministry spokesman Boris Pyadyshev said the American accusations — voiced by both President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz — were aimed "at distracting attention from the Americans' own illegal acts."

The charges and counter-charges have heightened tensions between the two powers on the eve of a visit by Shultz to Moscow, due to start Monday, for talks on arms control with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Pyadyshev said what he called "the new campaign of anti-Soviet spy-mania" had been launched by "the extremist, militarist wing in the

U.S. which is interested in maintaining tension and an atmosphere of hostility."

These forces, Pyadyshev declared, were seeking to divert the U.S. from further arms-reduction negotiations with Moscow and discussion of withdrawal of medium-range nuclear missiles.

The latest espionage storm broke in the U.S. with the arrest of former marine guards at the Moscow embassy accused of allowing Soviet agents to enter the building and examine top-secret installations.

In Washington, U.S. officials dismissed the Soviet allegations of widespread American spying as irrelevant to the increasingly acrimonious row over the Marine sex-spy scandal.

The officials said Washington was trying to emphasize a distinction between routine efforts at electronic surveillance by both superpowers and the "different nature" of the current scandal.

"Everybody throws microphones around once in a while, even if we can't say so publicly. The effort on the marines is of an entirely different nature," one said.

The officials said Shultz chose his language very carefully at a press conference Wednesday to allude to Washington's distinction between "routine" bugging efforts and the marine spy scandal.

### Baseless claim

CAIRO (AFP). — The U.S. has no military bases in Egypt, American Ambassador Frank Wisner said in a statement carried here yesterday by the semi-official newspaper *Al-Ahram* on its front page.

The envoy was countering an opposition press report that there was a U.S. base at Ras Banas on the Red Sea some 1,000 kilometres from here.

### Fahd in Spain

MARBELLA, Spain (AP). — King Fahd of Saudi Arabia has arrived in Spain on a private visit during which he may meet with King Juan Carlos to discuss an international peace conference on the Middle East, reports said yesterday.

The Saudi monarch arrived at a home he has here on Spain's Mediterranean coast Wednesday night.

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### Dickens revived

LONDON (AP). — A story of the life of Jesus that Charles Dickens wrote for his children in 1849 is being republished in Britain for Easter after a long absence from public view.

The 68-page book, *The Life of Our Lord* includes a foreword by one of Dickens' great-grandsons, the Rev. Michael Dickens Whitney. The book is illustrated with drawings by caricaturist Bob Hoare.

To provide information about Jerusalem, Dickens wrote, "Now the great place of all that country was Jerusalem — just as London is the great place of England..."

Dickens died in 1870 at age 58. His version of Jesus' life was not published until 1943, after the last of his children had died. It set a record when the publishing rights sold for \$40,000 pounds (then \$180,000).

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# It's safer forging art by second-string figures

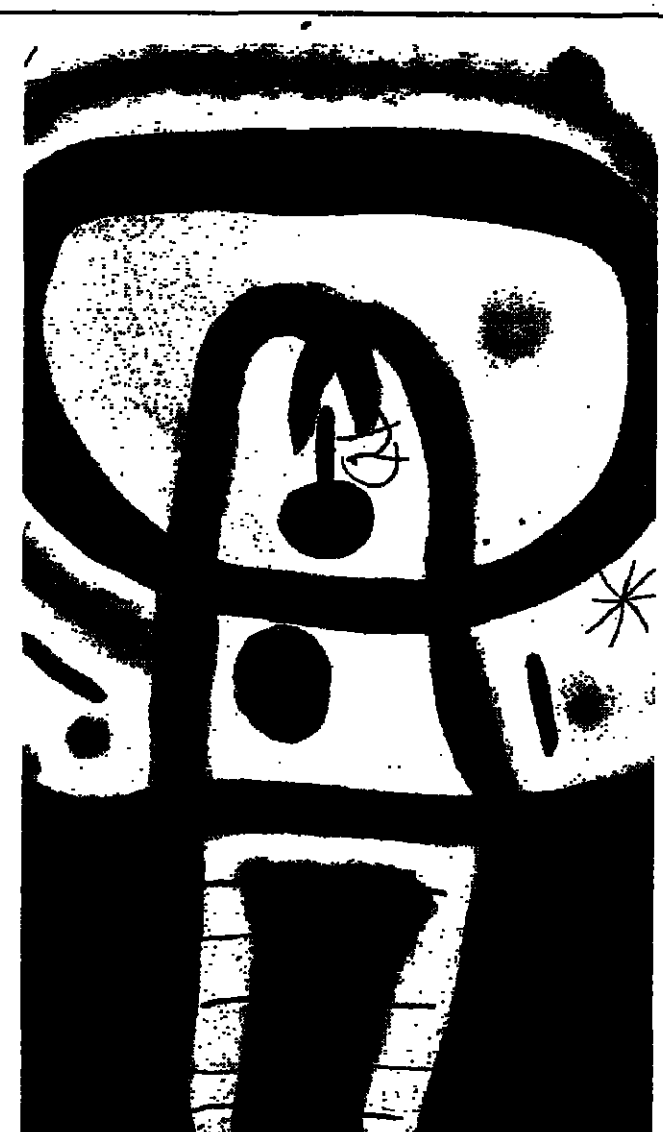
The revelation that art forgeries are circulating in Israel is not exactly news to art dealers here. While few professional dealers have been stung themselves and while none of the established ones would knowingly sell a forgery, they are dismayed that the Israel police's "Picasso File" has been made public. Such revelations are bad for business.

Picasso does not figure among the local forgeries, though he is notoriously easy to copy. Most of the local fakes are of veteran Israeli artists in demand by local collectors and Jewish tourists. The latter are a favourite target of forgers and their accomplices who slip fakes into circulation because the tourists rarely complain. The prices they pay are not particularly high and, even if they find someone at home who identifies the work as a fake — a highly unlikely event — they cannot easily hotfoot it back to Israel to reclaim their money.

Contrary to popular belief, forging paintings and prints is easy for anyone with a sound art training and an adept technical hand. It is often more profitable than producing original art. As with counterfeit currency, the real difficulty arises when the forger tries to get his work into circulation — and cover his tracks. He is actually safer making small sums out of forging the work of second-string figures rather than trying to make a killing in the big time.

Most forgers avoid copying or pirating complicated oil paintings, though they find it easy to make an oil after someone like Picasso or Janco, because of the strong graphic qualities of such painters. But it is usually quicker and easier to make a watercolour or a drawing, or to upgrade a drawing or lithograph by tinting it with colour. Hardest of all to detect are fake prints — etchings, lithographs or silk screens — which can be copied by photo-mechanical processes before being hand-printed in the same technique. All that remains to be forged is the pencilled signature and fake edition number, an easy task for a professional "penman," as signers of art works are known. Many Miro prints in circulation here are forgeries.

The widespread introduction of the signed,



Miro, Miro on the wall... are you valuable at all? (Ram Erde)

limited edition print is of comparatively recent origin. It was, at first, intended to make "original art" available to the less affluent and young collectors. Now, it has also become a racket, joyfully exploited even by famous painters and their dealer-publishers. Prices of top-flight signed prints by big names now exceed those of paintings by lesser lights.

These began when a few famous artists allowed their works in oils and other mediums to be "translated" by printshop experts into lithographs, screenprints or even etchings, without the artist even being present. All he had to do was to approve the "artist's proof" and sign the finished prints, which were usually numbered for him. When an edition of lithographs of Chagall's designs for the windows of the synagogue at Hadassah hospital, Ein Kerem, quickly sold out, the artist infuriated collectors by issuing another identical edition, this time numbered in Roman numerals. Another famous

## MEIR RONNEN Post Art Editor

artist who allowed her paintings to be "translated" into lithographs was the late Sonia Delaunay. These turned out to be even more attractive than the originals and have since been the target for wildcat publishers in the U.S., who produce editions in slightly different colours, forging the artist's signature.

Israeli artists "translated" at the Mourlot studios in Paris include Gutman and Shalom of Safed.

The most outrageous example of less-than-scrupulous artists is veteran surrealist Salvador Dali, who, bedridden, has employed an assistant to paint entire paintings for him, complete with signature; and who allegedly signed thousands of blank sheets of paper before anything was printed on them.

While artists like Duerer and Rembrandt made their own marvellous etchings, many of their contemporaries were employing apprentices to help them paint commissions. Rubens,

for instance, employed a large work force, which brings us to another type of forgery until recently countenanced by reputable auction houses. A Rubens purchased some years ago by a noted Californian collector at a London auction was pronounced by American assessors as not by the master's hand. The discomfited millionaire, after complaining to the auction house, learned that anything catalogued as "Rubens" merely meant "school of Rubens," whereas "P.P. Rubens" meant that it was produced in his studio, possibly with his help. Only something catalogued "Peter Paul Rubens" was the real McCoy.

Today, anyone who wants a Rubens or a Frank Stella painting can turn to a copyist. Most copyists working in the world's major museums are students, but the more skilled at the task often keep copying into old age, selling to tourists who accost them in the museums, though this is strictly forbidden by the museum authorities who grant them their licences. The museums also insist that the copies vary from the originals in size by at least 10 per cent and will not let the painting be removed from the museum until it has been stamped on the back of the canvas as being a copy (the museums also refuse permission to copy living artists). But once the canvas is outside the museum, there is no way anyone can determine what happens to it. The museums are well aware they have no control over it being signed and sold; and they know that the museum stamp on the back of the canvas can be painted out or covered with an old gallery or museum sticker removed from another work. Even copyists who sell their works without signing them, cannot tell what the customer is going to do with the picture and they can never be sure it will not find its way into the market.

One of the easiest ways to introduce a forgery into the market is to append a signature to an unsigned work that looks as though it might belong to the name. This is routinely done by small London galleries specializing in upgrading, obscure 18th century landscape painters; a penman will supply the required signature for little

more than the price of a good meal. In Israel, tourists unfamiliar with the work of Israeli artists have had a work by Ziona Tager after a penman had switched the signatures. That the work didn't look like a Tager at all did not prevent it from being sold. Skilled Israeli penmen have even progressed to adding dedications by the artist to his wife or friends, thus adding to an air of authenticity.

Forging a work by a living (or recently deceased) artist for sale in some countries is a form of infringement of copyright. In Israel, the artist is "protected" by a recently introduced amendment covering the artist's "moral right," under which not even a genuine client has the right to tamper with a work, like cutting into two saleable halves, or covering a lithograph with water-colour, as has been the case with some work by Shalom Moscovitz of Safed, the late great naive artist. Moscovitz brings large sums here and abroad, and is not difficult to forge. Under this law, the artist or his estate could prosecute a forger or a violator of a work.

Most states in the U.S. have not adopted such a law; and in many of them there is a brisk business in paintings "in the manner of" major living artists. In practice, however, neither Israeli nor American artists have the time or the money to pursue lawsuits against forgers and copyists, or those who produce an unsigned painting "in the manner of."

Want to buy a work of art? Your best bet is to do so from a well-established professional gallery that will supply a provenance of the work and will give you a written guarantee that they will refund your money if the authenticity of anything they sell you is questioned. The gallery should be financially sound enough to give you a cheque that will not bounce. Remember that minor art is not a good investment. Prints and paintings by minor artists cannot be readily resold; and selling through a dealer means that you will never get your money back. Remember too that one reason that prices of art seem to inch up steadily is that the real value of money slides steadily down.

## Local experts: The revolution didn't happen

# IBM keeps software base in new line

By KEN SCHACHTER  
For The Jerusalem Post  
When Big Blue makes a move, the computer world trembles. So in the days leading up to IBM's introduc-

tion of its new personal computer line this week dealers and computer-philies held their breaths, while prospective buyers held onto their wallets.

As assessments of the new line continue, experts say that the "revolution" predicted by some did not come to pass.

Specifically, some industry analysts had expected IBM to adopt a "closed architecture," in effect sealing the machine to foil manufacturers of inexpensive compatibles. Instead, IBM's eight Personal System/2 models will be protected by what company officials hope are harder-to-copy technology and a more vigilant enforcement policy.

Those who own older IBM personal computers or compatibles were relieved to find out that IBM had decided to tap the enormous

software base written for the PC line. The new PS/2 line comes with two operating systems, one that runs PC programs, and a new, graphic-oriented OS/2 system. The dual operating system approach means that the millions of IBM-style computers now in place will not be rendered obsolete, while buyers of the new line will have thousands of programs at their disposal immediately while they await the arrival of software specifically written for the OS/2 system.

Before the introduction of the new line, the Triple D salesman said, sales had dried up as business users — the primary market for the new line — awaited IBM's announcement.

Prices of the PS/2 line will start at NIS 4,500 for the basic Model 30, increasing to NIS 15,000 for the top-of-the-line Model 80, which will

employ a powerful Intel 80386 micro-processor.

Among the software packages the new computers will be able to run are best-sellers, such as Lotus 123, Wordstar, Multiplan and many special Israeli applications, like Hebrew word-processing programmes.

Pinchas Schapira, IBM-Israel distribution/marketing manager, stressed that Big Blue will continue to provide support for all IBM models and continue to sell the XT, XT-286 and AT models. The latter two can be upgraded to run the new OS/2 operating system.

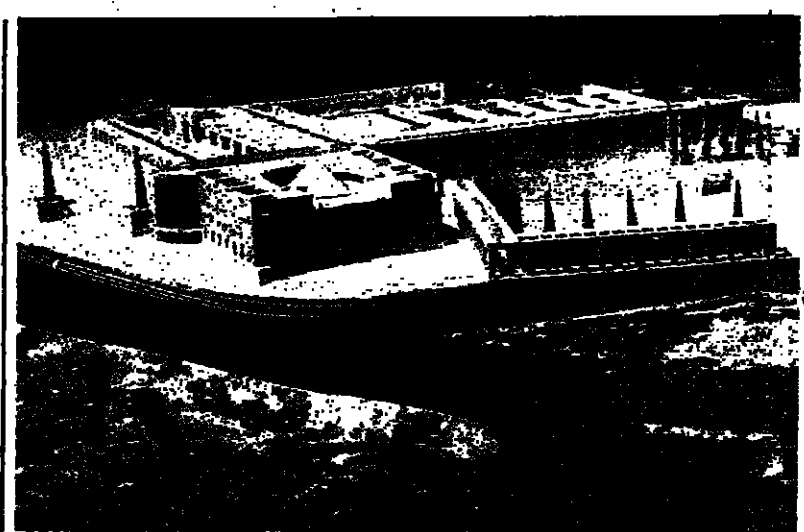
Despite the efforts to safeguard the new machines' technology there is widespread expectation that compatibles — or clones — soon will hit the market.

One of the major attractions of the

new machines is the new graphic-oriented operating system that will let users simultaneously perform several tasks in different "windows" on the computer screen. The graphic environment and windows were popularized in Apple's Macintosh computer line. Ironically, Apple recently introduced a new line of Macintoshes with operating systems that allow the machines to run programs written for IBM's PC line.

"Apple made a bridge to IBM," said a veteran computer writer, while the PS/2 line from IBM "adopts the general idea of the Macintosh."

Like the Macintosh, the PS/2 line uses 3.5" floppy disks instead of the 5.25" floppies used in the PC. PS/2 models 50, 60 and 80 will be equipped to access optical disks, which can store a whopping 200 million characters.



Model of the competition-winning Supreme Court building designed by Ada Karmi-Melamede and Ram Karmi.

## Winning Supreme Court design goes on display

By ANDY COURT  
For The Jerusalem Post

An exhibit which opened at the Israel Museum yesterday shows what the country's new Supreme Court building will probably look like, and what it might have looked like if a different design had been chosen in the competition.

The exhibit presents floor plans, drawings and scale models of the top 10 entries in the contest for best design of the building. The building will be constructed opposite the Knesset on the hill now used as a helicopter landing pad.

The Rothschild Foundation is financing and administering the project, and the cornerstone is scheduled to be laid on April 29. However, it may take another year to put together the working plans for the project.

"This is the first architectural exhibition in this country which is of this scale and of this importance," said Ada Karmi-Melamede, who with her brother, Ram Karmi, won the competition last June.

One hundred and seventy-four local architects participated in the

first stage of the competition, from which four were chosen. They then competed with six prominent architects, three from Israel and three from abroad.

Judges included American architects Cesar Pelli and Charles Moore, Israel's Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar, and British philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin.

The top 10 candidates included Moshe Safdie, Ya'acov Richter, David Shalev, James Freed, Ricardo Legorreta, Roni Seibert and Marcel Klugman.

On sale at the exhibit is a catalogue showing the architects' drawings, excerpts from their explanatory statements, and the judges' comments.

The winning plans submitted by Karmi and Marmi-Melamede may not exactly correspond to the building actually constructed because the judges wanted to leave some leeway for the architects and their clients, the Supreme Court and the Rothschild Foundation, to modify the plan.

The exhibit moves to the Tel Aviv Museum on July 5.

## HU to start sacking after Pessah

By BERNARD JOSEPHS  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A long-range recovery plan to save the Hebrew University from financial collapse was unveiled yesterday by the institution's management. They warned the plan would mean sackings, cuts and stringent economies. But they believed it would save the university from either closing or becoming a "glorified further education college."

The first effects of the plan will be felt after Passover, when sackings will start. The aim is to reduce the number of administrative jobs by around 450 during the next two years, and to cut the tenured academic staff by about 200 over the next 10 years.

University President Prof. Amnon Pazy and Vice Rector Prof. Yoram Ben-Porat made it clear that — in so far as possible — job reductions would be achieved through early retirements and the non-replacement of administrative staff.

The plan is aimed at balancing the operating budget some time in 1990, so that a start can be made towards paying off the university's accumulated debts of about \$64 million.

Firing was inevitable, said the two men, because some 80 per cent of the university's spending goes to wages. But the government would be asked to fork out some \$30m. over the next three years to help the institution recover.

Without such a contribution, said Pazy, the collapse of the Hebrew University was unavoidable.

Cuts this year, including the sacking of non-tenured academic staff and voluntary wage-cuts, were described as "first aid". What was needed was a restructuring of the university and this could not be achieved without government aid.

Other elements in the recovery plan include cutting the number of faculties; reducing duplication in equipment and facilities; strict control of spending on "household

items" such as electricity and water, and the continuation of austerity measures taken in the past year, including restrictions in the purchase of new computers and other expensive equipment.

Pazy and Ben-Porat expressed concern that wielding the scalpel too enthusiastically might cause serious damage to the university.

"We could, if we are not careful, become more like a college than a university. Even now we have more students per professor than pupils per teacher in high schools," said Pazy.

Besides cutting back, said Pazy, the university would place stress on income-producing projects. Bodies such as the School for Overseas Students, which are money spinners, would be expanded. And the institution would attempt to sell more services to the community at large, such as specialized courses.

Income from Friends organizations abroad would also play a big part in the recovery. But, the two professors stressed, government aid was essential.

Much of the blame for the uni-

versity's current crisis, they charged, was the result of its taking on the burden of national projects. This was particularly so in the building of the Mount Scopus campus, a government-urged development.

The university spent about \$180m. on Mount Scopus and the government pledged to meet a third of the cost. So far however, because of the complicated nature of the agreement, it had coughed up only 17 per cent.

"We have millions owed to us on this development and we have to pay the interest on the deficit," said Pazy.

Now it was up to the government to help out the university, said the president. Further large-scale cuts were not possible, he went on. Already researchers were making do with out-of-date equipment and maintaining standards was essential if the best brains were to be attracted.

"This is one of the biggest and in some respects, best universities in the world, and Israel can't afford to lose us," said Pazy.

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## Abraham Rabinovich finds out how Soviet immigrants are faring here

WANDERING dreamlike through the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, the newcomers stare at the faces around them — animated faces like they have never before seen in public places — and contemplate the profound divides that separate them from the familiar grey world they have forever left and the sun-drenched world they have chosen to enter.

This transition, alternately exuberant and painful, will be experienced by thousands of Russian Jews in the near future if the mooted change in Moscow's emigration policy is implemented.

Conversations this week with several of the 180,000 Russian immigrants who have come to Israel in little more than a decade suggest some of the cultural shocks, positive and negative, the newcomers are likely to experience.

"We kept looking at the faces," says Alla Priceman, a microbiologist who arrived almost two years ago. "In Russia I was terrified of crowds and I felt the same way when I visited the United States. I don't feel that way here and I don't think it's because I'm Jewish and I see them as fellow Jews. All the faces in the crowd here are of individuals. In Russia everyone wears the same expression. It's something wonderful to see people on the Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall. To me it's the apotheosis of freedom, the perfect example, to see the people there relaxed, drinking coffee and making conversation. It's so free and so individual. If I were to show Jerusalem to friends arriving from Russia, the two places I'd be sure to take them are the Western Wall and Ben-Yehuda."

The mall also transfixed Misha Shipov, 30, a Zionist activist who arrived only last month. "The faces here are not masks. These are people who are alive. In Russia, everyone hides himself in his own world. It was a shock to see the relaxed, happy faces on Ben-Yehuda, to see strangers communicating with each other. I keep walking around the city just looking at faces, faces." With some embarrassment, the young bachelor is prodded by a Russian woman immigrant listening to the conversation into agreeing that the faces of Israeli women are beautiful.

People removing money from the walls of banks with plastic cards is a wonder for Russian newcomers but no more so than the banking system itself. "Trying to figure out how cheques work drove us crazy," says Alla Priceman, who lives with her husband, Leonid, in Jerusalem's Ramot. "Now we even know about overdrafts."

The wide choice of food in the supermarkets, the attractive packaging and the colourful advertisements are clear indications to the Russian immigrants that they have crossed the great divide into a bountiful Western society that caters for the consumer.

Many of the newcomers, although discounting Soviet portrayals of Israel as a desert filled with "sand and tanks" are braced for a sparse landscape. They are pleasantly surprised to find a handsome countryside far more wooded than they expected and the cities well planted with trees. Nevertheless, their souls still hunger for the forests and rivers of Russia.

Although communism is a failed ideology for almost all the Russian arrivals, there is widespread admiration among them for that purest of communist forms — the kibbutz. "I've never seen so many intelligent people in one place," says Leonid Priceman who spent a week visiting one.

Leonid, who taught Russian history in Moscow and is now studying for his doctorate at Hebrew University, also has high praise for the standard of Israeli universities de-

# No regrets despite the problems



Toast of welcome

(Rubinger)

spite the current cutbacks. "The atmosphere of scientific investigation is totally different," he notes. "In Russia, there were ideological limitations to what we could investigate." Alla, who works at Shaare Zedek Hospital, also finds that in her fields of microbiology and genetics the Soviet Union is 10 years behind. "They were so stressed by the genetics disputes of the Stalin period that they still haven't caught up."

THE POSITIVE picture conjured up by these observations is not generally the first to emerge in conversations with Russian immigrants who have been here for some time. While remaining valid, these reflections have receded into a general background dominated by the day-to-day problems of immigrants no longer observing a new society but trying to make their way in it.

"I didn't expect that it would be so difficult," says Alla Priceman, noting that her husband takes a far more upbeat view of things than she. Their major difficulty, one shared by most of the Russian immigrants, is economic. Unlike Western immigrants who have generally made exploratory visits and come with financial means, the Russians are leaping into a new world with virtually no money at all.

In order to escape the "ghetto" atmosphere of the absorption centre in Gilo the Pricemans acquired a three-room apartment in Ramot three months ago, using a large mortgage made available by the Absorption Ministry and adding to it the little resources they could muster. Now they and their two small children — one, they proudly note, a sabra — must somehow get by on Alla's modest salary while Leonid studies.

Adding to the strain is concern for both their mothers who are living in absorption centres. The Priceman's living-room is mostly taken up by furniture stacked to the ceiling. It was brought from Russia by Leonid's mother in anticipation of being moved to her home when she acquired one. Leonid and Alla see no prospect of being able to move their mothers in their depressing state of permanent temporariness — from the absorption centres into

their own homes.

"Immigration is especially difficult for the old," says Alla. "They have left their friends whom they will never see again and the things they are familiar with. They need their own space, no matter how small. To find yourself at the end of your life without anything is unbearable. It makes us very sad."

The root of the problem, says Izila Godrov of the Soviet Jewry Information Centre, was the halt in the construction of public housing several years ago. These apartments were made available, through Amidar at subsidized rents, to immigrants who were given the option of purchasing them when they acquired the means. With no such apartments available any longer, immigrants have been kept on at absorption centres for years instead of the planned six months. Young couples able to acquire good jobs have moved out on their own, leaving behind the less socially adept and the elderly.

The absorption centres around the country are almost all filled, which will create an immediate problem if there is even a moderate flow of immigration. Misha Shipov, who was among the more than 100 Soviet immigrants who arrived last month in what might be the beginning of a new wave, was asked to share a room with another immigrant in Beit Canada in East Talpiot in Jerusalem used for teaching during the day. The two men were required to vacate the premises early each morning before the students arrived.

Although the ministry is offering immigrants \$40,000 mortgages, says Godrov, market prices are generally higher than that and Russian immigrants have no way of raising the difference. The only way of dealing with the problem, she says, is to make rented accommodation available again.

APART FROM the economic factor, there are formidable psychological and cultural obstacles to be overcome before the Soviet immigrant feels fully at home. "We have left relatives and friends behind forever," says Alla Priceman. "This 'forever' presses on us." The knowledge that, unlike Western immigrants, they cannot return to their native land, creates a sense of help-

lessness and dependence on the authorities among Soviet immigrants.

Nostalgia is a bitter-sweet companion of almost any emigrant, even Russians fleeing a confining, grey society. "I miss high buildings and big cities where you can be hidden," says Alla Priceman.

"I miss the green of the forests," says Rita Levin, who arrived from Leningrad 10 years ago. "The green that is so deep that it's almost blue. I miss the golden autumns."

Most miss the good theatre and ballet, widely available and at cheap prices in the Soviet Union, although they find radio and television, not to mention newspapers, to be of higher quality here.

The old people miss the language and the familiar food.

All miss friends. Many question their own cultural identity.

Yegeny Finkelberg, a communications engineer who managed to find work in his field shortly after arriving in Israel last year, says he is not nostalgic for anything except friends. Asked to play Russian songs on his guitar during a party at the absorption centre in Gilo, he confessed to not knowing any. "For the past 12 years in Russia, I only played Hebrew songs."

THE RUSSIAN immigration from the 1970s until now has been one of the best the country has experienced. It has in large measure been an immigration of professionals who have been absorbed relatively quickly into occupations and 94 per cent have remained in the country.

However, no uprooting and cultural transition is easy, not even for persons who are ideologically motivated. Even after 10 years in Israel, Rita Levin says she does not feel altogether at home. "Thanks to the children who bring me closer to the general society, I feel I am in a relative's house. If not for them, I would feel a guest altogether."

Yet the vivacious young woman, brimming with humour and energy, far from regrets her move. "The difference between the Soviet Union and Israel is the difference between a solitary confinement cell and a cosy living-room. Both have walls but one has windows you can open and shut, a door you can go in and out of, walls you can decorate however you choose and airiness."

Finkelberg is troubled by various aspects of Israeli society he has discovered, such as the tendency of some people with tenure not to work hard. Instead of grumbling or shrugging it off, he would like to do something to improve things. "The main thing is that this is our country and because of this we have to change things which from our point of view are not so good."

This sentiment was perhaps best put by the newest of the newcomers, Misha Shipov. "I feel I came to the place where I was supposed to have been born. I know there will be problems but I would rather deal with the problems here than with the problems I had there."

## Wolf Blitzer writes from Washington

## To Israel or to America?

THE STATE Department's position, restated many times, is that Soviet Jews should have the "freedom of choice" to settle in Israel, the U.S. or elsewhere.

Israelis agree that Soviet Jews should have the right to continue from Israel to the United States, if that is their choice. And no one is suggesting that they be forced to remain in Israel, as they were earlier forced to remain in the Soviet Union. The key question, however, involves their status as immigrants to America.

Will they still be able to apply for entry as refugees or will they be placed in the general pool of Israeli nationals seeking to live in the United States?

If they retain their refugee status, their entry into America would be considerably easier since they would not have to compete with the rather modest annual quota of Israelis allowed to receive resident immigrant status, rewarded with the much-desired "green card." If they are still refugees, the

Soviet Jews would effectively move to the head of the line.

Jerry Goodman, executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, has had his Washington office analyse this legal question. He discovered that there seems to be enough of an opening in the existing law to permit Soviet Jews who land in Israel — but who do not automatically accept Israeli citizenship under the "Law of Return" — to continue to maintain their refugee status.

But what about Soviet Jews who really do have close ("first degree") family living in the Un-

ited States — a spouse, children, brothers, sisters and parents? Should they be forced to delay their arrival in America by first stopping off in Israel? Some of these "refuseniks" have been waiting to see their loved ones for years. Should they not have special status in coming to America?

And if the concept of direct flights takes hold, might not Ben-Gurion Airport become merely a transit point for large numbers of Soviet Jews moving to America? There is no shortage of flights from Tel Aviv to New York. They could easily get off one plane and on to another bound for America.

A serious debate between Israel and the United States (including the Jewish Establishment) on this issue seems inevitable. It will be complicated by the fact that the U.S. government and the American Jewish community will almost certainly be called upon to pay for much of the Soviet Jewish resettlement process.

Walter Ruby, in New York, reports on a key question facing Israel and U.S. Jewry over Soviet emigration

## The explosive issue of refugee status

THE ANNOUNCEMENT last week by Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and Morris Abram, president of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, that the Soviets have agreed in principle to fly some 10,000-12,000 Jews to Israel via Bucharest over the next 9-12 months, caught much of the American Jewish community by surprise.

Al Chernin, executive director of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council says: "For the last several months, when we resisted the efforts of Prime Minister Shamir and other Israelis to get the United States to drop the refugee status it gives to Soviet Jewish emigrants, our response to these demands always was, 'This problem can be resolved if there are direct flights (from Moscow to Israel).'"

"However, for most people that idea was rather remote. Now it appears that those flights are likely to come about — and the American Jewish leadership is beginning to examine the situation to anticipate potential problems. While there is a feeling that some steps will probably be needed to clarify how U.S.

emigration law will apply in this new situation... I'm not sure any Jewish leaders would assert that they have a problem with the principle."

In informal discussions with key Jewish leaders this week I found that there will almost certainly be an effort to ensure that Soviet Jews with close family in the United States are reunited with their relatives, even if they are first flown to Israel by way of Romania. There is talk among American Jewish leaders of arranging for these people to keep their U.S. refugee status even after they land in Israel — a solution likely to be strongly resisted by the Israel government. Others are hoping that the Soviets may solve the problem for both American Jews and Israelis, by agreeing to allow emigrants with close family in the U.S. and other Western countries to emigrate directly to those countries without travelling first to Israel.

However, no American Jewish leaders this week were ready to say that Soviet Jewish emigrants without close relatives here ought to be allowed to keep their U.S. refugee status even after arriving in Israel. According to one leader who asked

not to be identified, "Our loyalties to Israel and Zionism have to transcend the very real desires of many of us to have more Soviet Jews come here. For years we have been paying lip service to the ideal that the first destination of Jewish emigrants from oppressed lands ought to be Israel. None of us are willing to turn around and deny that principle at the moment when the means may have been created to bring thousands of Soviet Jews to Israel."

ONE ORGANIZATION clearly walking a tightrope on the issue is Hias, which since the early 1970s has been bitterly denounced by Israelis for creating an apparatus in Vienna and Rome that has made it possible for Soviet Jews to "drop out" and travel to the United States and other destinations instead of Israel. During the last week, Hias has been involved in discussions with such organizations as the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Council of Jewish Federations (the latter are responsible for helping Soviet immigrants to settle in the U.S.) to assess the implications of

Continued on next page

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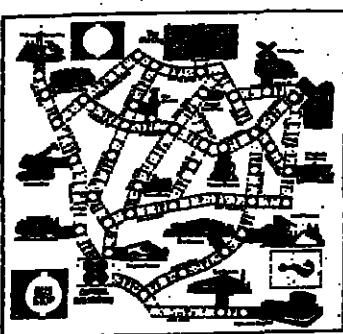
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Both Israel and China could benefit from closer relations, according to a Hebrew University expert on East Asian affairs. He detects a growing Chinese interest in the Middle East and a softening of its stand on Israel. Lev Bearfield reports.

## China wants a seat at Middle East table

MUCH OF THE divisive controversy surrounding the proposal for an international conference on the Middle East centres on the participation of the Soviet Union. But what of that other UN Security Council member - China?

Like the Soviets, the Chinese have long advocated the PLO position, and traditionally have been unsympathetic to the Jewish state. As with the Soviets, however, recent developments indicate that a change in attitude towards Israel might be in the offing.

Such change is difficult to measure, as the political mind of Peking seems even more inscrutable than that of the Kremlin. But if there is to be an international conference, must Israel expect the Chinese to be just another hostile guest at the table? Might they show a softening of position on the question of the territories? Have they any reason to pursue better ties with Israel?

What, in fact, are China's interests in the Middle East? Do they even desire to participate in the international conference?

AT LEAST one Israeli has dedicated a good part of his life to dealing with just such questions. He's Dr. Yitzhak Shichor, chairman of the Department of East Asian Studies at the Hebrew University's Truman Institute.

Shichor, 43, has been analyzing China's interests in this part of the world ever since he was a political science student at the Hebrew University and a doctoral candidate in international relations at the London School of Economics. His dissertation in 1976 dealt with precisely that subject, and since then he has published a full-length study and numerous articles on China vis-à-vis the Arab world.

Naturally enough, Shichor has been closely following the latest signals from China - most notably the recent meeting between Foreign Ministry Director-General Avraham Tamir and the Chinese representative at the UN. And when *The Jerusalem Post* contacted Shichor for his views on the possible Chinese role at an

international Mideast conference, it was obvious that he had been weighing the matter from every angle for quite some time.

"First of all," said the country's foremost native-born China-watcher, "we know that the Chinese certainly do want to participate in an international conference. They have said as much on several occasions. And that's not unexpected, because they have genuine interests in the Middle East, which we can go into later. What is less clear is how the Chinese might behave at such a conference. Here we have to build from speculation to speculation."

"Our initial speculation, of course, concerns whether or not an international conference is actually going to come about. In order for it to become a reality, certain conditions must be met. Israel, for example, is insisting that all participants at such a conference must have full diplomatic relations with Jerusalem. Most observers believe this is not an unreasonable demand. Just in January I was in Europe, and I met with personalities from the Eastern bloc who agreed that Israel's insistence on this point was sensible and fair."

"Nevertheless," Shichor continued, "the Chinese position has always been that they will not establish formal relations with Israel until certain conditions are met. These include withdrawal from the territories, the establishment of some sort of political entity for the Palestinians - a state or whatever - and an end to what the Chinese call Israel's policy of imperialist aggression."

BUT THESE are more or less the kind of things one might expect to be on the agenda of the international conference. Does this mean that if these matters are not resolved first, the Chinese won't participate?

Shichor smiled. "Possibly," he said. "But if we're speculating here, let's assume some compromises of positions all around. After all, compromise is the name of the game to begin with."

"What I've been speaking about is the traditional Chinese position on Israel. But

we've seen unprecedented developments recently. We now have direct mail between Israel and China. There are Israeli students in Peking. Granted they arrived on other passports, but the Chinese know full well they're Israelis. Yosef Singer of the Technion lectured in China last summer. Israeli tourists can go to China now on Israeli passports. Chinese officials keep showing up at Israeli trade fairs. We've had these reports about arms deals."

"And then there was the meeting at the UN with Tamir. The Chinese representative made it clear that this was not a bilateral meeting, but a meeting with a permanent member of the Security Council. The Chinese representative insisted that Tamir meet with the other council members as well. But the Chinese were merely covering themselves there with regard to the Arabs. The fact is that the meeting took place. And that was a very significant step. It showed China's interest in being treated as a superpower and, I think, China's interest in taking part in a Mideast conference."

BUT WHAT incentive is there for China to take a seat at the conference table? "China," said Shichor, "is only now coming to recognize its potential as a superpower, and that as such it must play its part in world affairs. You know, China was very hesitant for years about joining the UN. And once it did, it usually didn't vote. Only now is it getting more self-confident."

"Now, seeing what the Russians are doing in Afghanistan, seeing that smaller countries can't resolve their problems, seeing that things have settled into a more rational way of life in China itself with the Cultural Revolution behind them, the Chinese are ready to assume their responsibilities at world forums."

"Its position before was that the parties directly involved should solve their differences. But now the Chinese seem to agree that a more pragmatic and rational approach is needed. And not just because the Soviets and the Americans are involved, but because of their own interests. What do those interests include?"



'China is also intensely interested in Israeli agriculture.'



(Camera Press)

"They would like to have a stronger footing in the Middle East," Shichor said, "and this proposed conference would give them an excuse for such a penetration. As far as the Arabs are concerned, the Chinese could present themselves as the only participant at the international conference representing the interests of the Third World."

"This is significant, for the fact is that, aside from the PLO, China has not been supporting any of the 'liberation movements' anywhere in the world. So it could keep up its credibility as a 'revolutionary body' in that respect by taking part in the conference."

"China might also hope to win points with the Arabs by pressing their view at the conference, because China has deep economic ties with the Arabs. China is currently a major arms supplier to many Middle Eastern states - Egypt, Iraq, Iran, others. They want to keep it that way. They don't want those states turning elsewhere. Indeed, the Chinese are very hard-pressed for foreign currency. Now more than ever, they can't afford to lose those markets."

"AT THE SAME time," Shichor continued, "China has legitimate interests in better ties with Israel. At least part of the leadership sees advantages in this. Their arms industry, for example, is vast, but sophisticated. It's basically a Soviet model created in the 1950s. It turns out guns, ammunition, tanks, submarines, somewhat improved versions of the MiG-19 and MiG-21 - all of which it sells to the Arabs."

"But for their own purposes alone, the Chinese desperately need technical assistance in modernizing that arms industry. They believe they could get that from Israel. In addition, they believe Israel could provide them with invaluable information gained in combat against Soviet arms."

"China is also intensely interested in Israeli agriculture. Only about 12 per cent of China's land is under cultivation, and they have vast arid zones. That's why they covet our farm technology. They're also very interested in our solar energy research."

But is it to Israel's advantage to have better relations with China?

"Oh, I think undoubtedly it is," Shichor replied emphatically. "In addition to opening up the world's largest market, it would certainly strengthen Israel's standing in the international community. I think an international conference is the only way to break the ice between China and Israel, and the prize of establishing relations would be of tremendous value to Israel, regardless of anything the conference might lead to."

AND WITH China's participation, just what might it in fact lead to?

"That," said Shichor, "depends on what expectations we have from an international conference. The Chinese would articulate the Arab position, but presumably would be more amenable to compromise than the Arabs. Compromise, after all, is what negotiation is all about."

"And I think we could expect a fairly independent line of thinking from the Chinese. Not long ago, China's foreign policy was based purely on fear of the Soviets. But the Chinese seem to have got over that now. After Afghanistan, with new economic problems and so on, we see more of a convergence of views between the Soviets and China. I'm not sure if that should worry us or not. Truth is, the literature shows the Chinese are more critical of the American role in the Middle East than they are of the Russians."

"There's another element to consider, too. The Chinese quietly favoured the Camp David agreements - because they excluded the Soviets. I think they see now that ignoring the interests of the Soviets may not have been such a good idea. Other states have come around to this view, too. The mature leaders of the world, the superpowers, are coming to realize that agreements that don't pay attention to the interests of the big players are likely to be limited in effect."

We asked Shichor to expand on that. "Another way to express this," he said, "is that other states are getting fed up with

the Middle East. They think a settlement is long overdue - and who can argue with that? The Chinese, who seem to be in a moderate mood, appear to see that settling in this part of the world would be in their own interest. As much as they support the PLO, they are very critical of the nationalism and squabbling both in that organization and in the Arab world as a whole. So I think they're ready for a rational resolution of the problem. And I think the other states go along with that."

"In the end, I think we're seeing more leaders acting more rationally these days. They're taking on new models, new approaches - they're more concerned about people living well than with prolonged conflicts. I don't think the Soviets would object to the Chinese role at a Middle East conference. I don't think the U.S. would. I don't think we should be afraid of it."

GIVEN THIS somewhat sanguine viewpoint, we asked Yitzhak Shichor to make a further speculative leap: what if, suddenly, the Chinese were ready to establish full relations with Israel? How well equipped would Israel be for this?

"Not as bad as you might think," Shichor smiled. "For one thing, the Hebrew University's East Asian Studies department currently has 150 undergraduate students, which makes it one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing of any department in the humanities. We also happen to have one of the few documentation centres in the world dealing with Chinese foreign policy. We began building this in the 1960s, and today it has an impressive collection of material - books, periodicals, research papers, even Chinese telephone directories."

"Over in the Foreign Ministry - well, of course, there would be some panic at the prospect of immediate diplomatic recognition. But the ministry hasn't ignored China. Interest began developing under former director-general David Kimche, and of course it's continuing under Tamir. And a good number of our graduates are in the Foreign Service - in Japan, Hongkong, Taiwan and elsewhere, gathering valuable experience. So we wouldn't be going into diplomatic relations from ground zero."

And what about the Chinese? "Well, we know they're studying us as well," Shichor said. "They follow the Hebrew press - and they certainly read *The Jerusalem Post*. We know this from their reaction to events here - and they do react. The Chinese press is full of things about Israel - and incidentally, usually reported with considerable objectivity. Also, we had a report last year that a number of students at Peking University have begun studying Hebrew."

All of which Shichor noted with approval. But did that mean, then, that diplomatic recognition was not beyond the realm of possibility?

"Let's face it," Shichor said, "we've seen a lot of smoke lately, but no real fire. It all depends on the leadership. The way I read it, the Chinese seem to be coming around to the view that it's beneficial to have ties even with countries with which you strongly disagree. Which of course is only rational."

"But I can't predict what's going to happen. I can only say I truly hope diplomatic ties come about. I think it would be a very good thing."

## THE EXPLOSIVE ISSUE

Continued from preceding page

the Moscow-Bucharest-Tel Aviv flights.

Karl Zuckerman, the executive vice president of Hias, strenuously denies that his organization has any objection to the principle of flying the majority of Soviet Jewish emigrants directly to Israel. Says Zuckerman, "We all want more Jews to go to Israel - and that includes Hias. There is every reason to proceed assuming that (the indirect flights to Israel) can in fact be worked out, and then deal with the consequences."

When asked if one such consequence would not be that the great majority of Jews would go to Israel instead of coming to the U.S. through the auspices of Hias, Zuckerman responded, "There are worse things in the world for Jews to do than to go to Israel." Would not the direct flights put Hias out of business by closing down the Vienna-Rome route? "We still have Iranian Jews and other refugees to deal with,"

Zuckerman replied. "As long as we live in a world where Jews are forced to leave their homes to find freedom from persecution, there is going to be a Hias."

Zuckerman admitted, however, that he is concerned that Soviet agreement to the indirect flights may stem from the calculation that fewer Jews would decide to leave the Soviet Union if they knew they would be forced to fly directly to Israel. "If that were to happen it would be a tragedy. I'm praying it does not happen..."

According to Zuckerman, "There will be an effort to preserve the refugee status of people who have families here." Zuckerman declined to discuss the specifics of the discussions taking place on the subject, stating, "Obviously people are concerned about the question of family reunification, but we are determined to avoid at all costs a public discussion of this very sensitive and important issue."

JERRY GOODMAN, the executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ), the "establishment" Soviet Jewry umbrella group, of which most mainline Soviet Jewry groups are members, said that his organization is studying the question of refugee status and family reunification in cooperation with Hias. According to Goodman, "As a principle, we've agreed that the whole issue of the reunification of families in the U.S. and Israel is a subject that has to be addressed."

The issue of refugee status came up at a meeting convened on Monday by Abram that included representatives of the NCSJ, NISRA, the American Jewish Committee, the Israel government, the New York based Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, and the "activist" Union of

Councils for Soviet Jews.

According to one source, "Morris Abram said he is in favour of the Moscow-Bucharest-Tel Aviv flights, but stressed that the American Jewish community needs to figure out together with the U.S. and Israeli governments a way for people to be reunited." According to the source, the Israeli representative at the meeting said that the Israeli government strongly objected to any effort to maintain U.S. refugee status for any Soviet Jews once they arrive in Israel. He pointed out that persons with family in the U.S. could put their names on a list with the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv, as have many Israelis who want to join relatives living in the U.S.

According to Micah Naftalin, Washington representative of the UCSJ, his organization, which supported the Israel-based Soviet Jewry Education and Information Center (SIEIC) in vociferously criticizing the Abram-Bronfman understanding with the Soviets, is not prepared at present to cross swords publicly with the Israelis and the American Jewish establishment over ensuring

the right of Soviet Jews to travel to destinations other than Israel.

Another "activist" group, the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (SSSJ), is similarly undecided on how to approach the issues raised by the flights through Bucharest. According to executive director Glenn Richter the leadership of his group is split between those "who support direct flights and those who are more concerned about the principle of freedom of choice." According to Richter, "There is a feeling that there should be a mechanism to go with the direct flights to give people an option. But no one knows what that mechanism should be, or who should qualify for it."

Richter indicated he believes the Israeli government should address the question realistically, "especially if they don't want sit-down strikes at Lod Airport."

According to a key Israeli source here, the entire issue of refugee status could prove to be academic. He stated, "According to the new Soviet decree on emigration, people with first-degree relatives in the U.S. can apply directly to the U.S.

Embassy for a visa to come here, instead of applying for an Israeli visa. Don't forget that in the 1960s and early 70s many Jews came directly to the U.S. Forty thousand Soviet Armenians have also come to the U.S. through this method."

The source conceded, however, that at this point it is not clear that the Soviets will interpret their regulations in a way that would allow large numbers of Jews to come directly to the U.S. Some experts have contended that the Soviets might be reluctant to allow direct emigration to the U.S. since to do so might encourage more people - Jewish and non-Jewish - to consider emigration.

Signalling that Israel would be amenable to such an arrangement, the source added, "Israel never said it had a monopoly on Soviet Jews. If potential emigrants want to apply to America or another country they should have freedom of choice. We only say that those with visas to Israel should come to Israel."

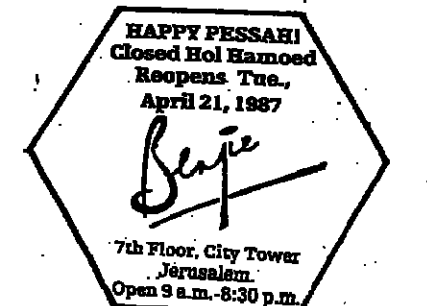
The source suggested, however, that Israel is likely to remain adamant on the political refugee question. "I don't think the State of Israel can accept that a Jew who comes to Israel on an Israeli visa should re-

main a political refugee after he arrives on Israeli soil. If he then wants to leave Israel, no one will force him to stay, but it is unacceptable that he should leave Israel as a political refugee."

Overall, it appears clear that despite the apparent consensus in support of flights of Soviet Jewish emigrants to Israel through Bucharest, the refugee status question remains a potentially explosive one that could place additional strain on relations between Israel and American Jewry. For the moment, however, the question has been pushed into the background, as American Jews and Israelis alike breathlessly wait to see if the Soviets really intend to put the Moscow-Bucharest-Tel Aviv airlift into motion.

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## The Speaker of the Knesset — Quality of Life Prizes

### Prizes for 5748

The Quality of Life Prize Fund of the Speaker of the Knesset will award (shekel denominated) prizes in 5748 to a total value of \$100,000, for activities in the following fields of endeavour:

- Increasing immigration, reducing emigration, and easing absorption.
- Service to society and the community, and activities promoting integration of the different immigrant communities in Israeli society.
- Strengthening the rule of law and the acceptance of democratic values.
- Promoting understanding between, and the coexistence of Jew and Arab.
- Promoting cooperation between the cultural, scientific and art institutions of Israel and France, so as to improve the quality of life, and enrich cultural life in Israel.

The Fund was set up to promote improvement in the quality of life in Israel, and is intended to encourage and support the continuation of activities already being undertaken.

A prize committee will make recommendations in each field in which a prize is to be awarded. Final decisions are the sole prerogative of the trustees of the Fund.

The Fund may also decide to award a grant or grants. Any person in Israel, and any registered or unregistered organization, other than a state authority, are eligible for nomination.

All persons are eligible to submit nominations for a prize. You may submit a nomination without giving your name, or you may request that your identity not be revealed.

The names of the prize winners will be announced in the press.

No notification will be sent, when a nominee is not awarded a prize.

Prizes will be awarded at a ceremony in the Knesset, the ceremony forming part of the Knesset Day celebrations, on a date close to Tu B'Shvat, 5748.

Nominations should be submitted in writing to the Secretariat of the Fund, The Knesset, Jerusalem 91 999, within 45 days of publication of this notice. Reasons for the nomination should be given.

Shlomo Hillel  
Speaker of the Knesset  
Chairman of the Fund

Emanuel Racine  
Honorary Treasurer of the Fund

### "COURAGE ALONG THE DIVIDE": CENSORSHIP

On 17 February 1987 our documentary **COURAGE ALONG THE DIVIDE** was broadcast by Jordan Television without our consent or knowledge. More than 20 sequences in the film suffered censorship by Jordan Television without any indication to the viewer. Many scenes and passages which were crucial to the film's integrity were censored including episodes relating to:

- the 1929 Hebron Pogrom
- persecution and mass murder of Jews in Nazi Germany
- birth of the State of Israel
- Arab opposition to partition and invasion of the Jewish State
- Palestinian terrorism

Central has made representation to Jordan Television about their unauthorised exploitation and censorship of our documentary film.

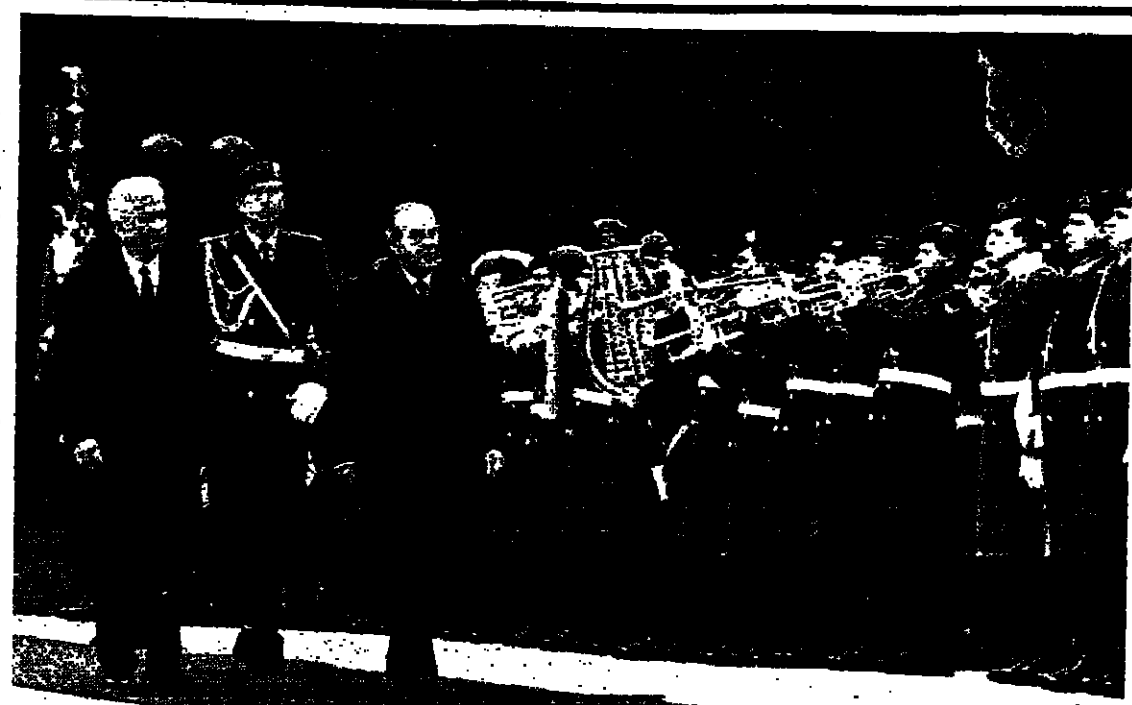
**COURAGE ALONG THE DIVIDE** has had limited screening uncensored in Israel (by the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv Cinematheques, Tzavta clubs and Kibbutzim). We are dismayed that television viewers, both Israelis and Palestinians, have been deprived of the chance to view our film in its original, true form.

**COURAGE ALONG THE DIVIDE** was made in order to highlight significant initiatives towards peaceful reconciliation between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs particularly concerning the Occupied Territories. By censoring scenes describing Jewish history and Israeli/Jewish feelings and concerns, Jordan Television seriously distorted our documentary.

CENTRAL INDEPENDENT TELEVISION, ENGLAND  
Victor Schonfeld, Jennifer Millstone

April 10, 1987





Presidents Herzog and Richard von Weizsäcker review a West German honour guard

## Hornets' nest

President Herzog's visit to Germany focused interest in Israel and Germany alike on the background to the Holocaust in German history. *The Post's* Dvora Getzler asked German-born Prof. George Mosse, first incumbent of the Koebner Chair of German History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and his successor, Prof. Moshe Zimmermann, a sabra of German parentage, to put the visit into its historical perspective.

THE PRESIDENT stepped into a historians' hornets' nest, say Professors George Mosse and Moshe Zimmermann, pointing to the recent and bitter debate raging in Germany over assessments of the Nazi period.

For Mosse, this is the major import of Herzog's visit: "It's going to force the German historians to confront the Holocaust, instead of trying to sidestep it. The debate has its potentially dangerous revisionist aspects, and we have as big a stake in its resolution as they have. What is under discussion is not just the Holocaust, but what preceded and prepared it: the discrimination against the Jews, the racism that the German people accepted even earlier."

Zimmermann dates the start of the debate among Germany's historians to the 1982 rise to power of Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democrats. At this time, he says, some "historians" joined hands with the politicians in attempting to manipulate history "in the direction of nationalist ideas that we all thought had died out in Germany."

The historians Ernst Nolte and in particular Michael Stürmer - whom

he calls "Kohl's court historians" - were mobilized to play down Germany's guilt over the Nazi past. Among the tactics adopted was a comparison of the Holocaust with Stalin's atrocities, a stress on the German army's so-called "defensive" role in World War II, and even, though admittedly among only the lunatic fringe, attempts to compare Zionism with Nazism. "They point to the common Romantic roots of both nationalisms."

But such right-wing historians are still very much in the minority, they both feel. Zimmermann maintains that those who attended the recent conference at the Hebrew University on German history represent the mainstream: young scholars determined that German historiography shall not lend itself to any resurgence of nationalism.

MOSSE AND Zimmermann both point to the central lesson historians have drawn from the Nazi period and the Holocaust: "We all have to take racist ideologies and movements seriously, whenever and wherever they crop up. They must be stamped out early if they're to be dealt with at all."

National Socialism, they agree, was rooted in and capitalized on Germany's crushing defeat in the First World War, the social and economic chaos that followed, and the subsequent great depression with its mass unemployment.

Mosse points to the brutalization of political life produced by the horrors of the war and the failed revolution in the transition to peace. Many people went straight from the trenches into the *Freikorps*, and some then graduated into running the concentration and extermination camps.

"Hitler, in exploiting the circumstances of the time, appealed to a nationalism that was there to respond to it. And every nationalism, I don't care whose, harbours latent feelings of hostility to the stranger outside the tribe. The problems arise when the latent becomes overt, which explains why Hitler was able to whip up anti-Semitism in a country where it was no stronger than in most other European countries. For," Mosse insists, "anyone who'd been asked, in 1914, to predict which country would expel its Jews within the century would have pointed not

## An early interest

MOSHE ZIMMERMANN'S Hamburg-born parents arrived in this country in 1937-38 together with his grandparents. His father, Karl Akiva Zimmermann, was the headmaster of Jerusalem's Ma'aleh school. Moshe had such a keen interest in the Nazi period that his parents were once called to school and warned that he showed neo-Nazi tendencies - he had been doodling German soldiers complete with swastikas!

Born in Jerusalem in 1943, Zimmermann had his first direct experience of Germany in 1968 as a Hebrew University student when he overheard a discussion on whether the Jews had had any hand in the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. "It gave us all the impression that nothing had changed in Germany," he recalls.

But returning as a doctoral student in 1972, and subsequently spending several sabbaticals there, he arrived at a more balanced view.

Zimmermann, chairman of the Hebrew University's History department, is the author of *Wilhelm Marr, Patriarch of Anti-Semitism* and a history of Jewish emancipation in Hamburg, published in German.



## Family priority

GEORGE MOSSE'S family history "defies current stereotypes of assimilation," he notes, because the family moved prominently and confidently in both the general German scene and the Jewish community.

The *Mosse Verlag* was one of Germany's three press empires, publishing the *Berliner Tageblatt*, amongst others. But Mosse's grandfather and father also presided over Berlin's Reform Jewish community.

This community was a top priority for Mosse's father. The Jewish National and University Library has a copy of the liturgy that he commissioned for it, in cooperation with the Berlin Philharmonic of which he was a patron. Mosse says that his father gave IPO founder Bronislaw Huberman his first violin. Architecture was his third great interest. He discovered Eric Mendelsohn, architect of the building that today houses the Hebrew University's Faculty of Law on Mount Scopus and of Jerusalem's central post office. Mendelsohn's first building, the facade of the *Mosse Verlag* headquarters, is being reconstructed for the 750th Berlin anniversary exhibition.

The Mosses left Germany in 1933, with the 15-year-old George being sent first to an English boarding school and thence to Cambridge. The outbreak of war caught him in the U.S., where he finished his education at Harvard and then embarked on a distinguished university career.

to Germany, but to Tsarist Russia or France."

Zimmermann takes the argument a step further. Hitler's success, he points out, was not limited to Germany proper. "Even when it was abundantly clear who Hitler was, he still succeeded in Austria, in the Sudetenland, and even in occupied France. To some extent

the problem is still with us: favourable assessments of Hitler are not confined to Germany."

COULD HITLER have been stopped?

"There were missed opportunities," says Zimmermann. "Even as late as 1932 the die had not yet been cast. Hitler's fortunes sank rapidly after his huge success in July, when

he had the support of 37 per cent of the electorate. By November, people were already tiring of him, and he lost several million votes. A month later, things looked even blacker for him."

That was the decisive moment, they both agree. But conservative, even liberal opinion still wasn't taking Hitler seriously. Mosse recalls that for his father, Hitler belonged in the comic supplements. When his sister reported that some of her young Socialist youth movement charges were wearing Nazi-style daggers, the family laughed and told her she didn't understand. "But she did, she lived among the people whom they never saw, and she knew what was going on," he says.

Zimmermann adds that even when Hitler was made chancellor, the traditional right, led by Alfred Hugenberg and his National Party, didn't fully grasp what had happened.

"There's a cinema newsreel report of the installation in which, after a brief shot of Chancellor Hitler in the centre, the camera immediately

"It was the brutalization brought about by the war that made it possible to build on the foundations that had already been laid for a thoroughgoing anti-Semitism and the implementation of the Final Solution. Nor did mass murder stop at Jews. As the war spread east, Germany played for ever higher stakes, first the Polish intellectuals and then Communist Party members in the occupied areas of Soviet Russia were singled out for extermination."

Did the Germans really not know what was happening?

Zimmermann is quite definite in asserting that many must have had a strong hunch that something terrible was afoot when their Jewish neighbours disappeared for "resettlement in the East."

"The answer, it seems to me, is that people who don't want to face up to moral conflicts don't pursue their knowledge, and the hints of others' knowledge, to the logical conclusion. And in Hitler's Germany informers lurked everywhere and hanging awaiting those who dared to talk."

'The moral indignation of those here who opposed Herzog's visit is understandable. But Israel doesn't live in an international vacuum.'

tracks to the second row, to focus on Hugenberg. The hint was clear, Hitler was supposed to be nothing more than their puppet. What they failed to take into account was that once in power he wouldn't play the game by their rules."

Externally, both see Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland in March 1936 as the watershed. And so did Hitler. Mosse notes that Hitler knew he was gambling for the highest stakes and that he had even prepared his suicide should the gamble fail.

It was European, and particularly French, war-weariness that was behind France's failure to send troops to ouster Hitler. There was also some feeling, Zimmermann adds, that Germany was doing nothing more than claiming what was its due. No one foresaw where it would all lead.

THE SAME lack of foresight existed with regard to Hitler's anti-Semitism.

"Hitler went carefully at first," Zimmermann says. "Anti-Semitism wasn't the horse on which he rode to power, and until 1938 it didn't appear to be that, central. True, there were the September 1935 Nuremberg racial laws forbidding marriages between Germans and Jews "for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour."

"But even sections of the German Jewish community didn't take too much exception to them - the Orthodox were in any case opposed to intermarriage, the Zionists saw the decree as proof of their case. The contemporary newspapers in this country made no outcry. Of course, the Liberal Jewish community, by far the majority among German Jews, felt differently."

TODAY, SAY Mosse and Zimmermann, Germany, despite all predictions, is one of Europe's safest democracies.

Mosse explains how this came about by pointing to the discrediting of nationalism, militarism and even heroism in the wake of Germany's utter defeat.

But it all took time. Zimmermann emphasizes. Nazi attitudes were only gradually eroded. "Today, however, there's a more or less balanced society that has grown up on the delegitimation of Nazism. Moreover, the Germans are acutely aware that economic prosperity and social welfare are the great guarantors of democracy - something the Social Democrats failed to understand in 1932 - and they work hard on maintaining that guarantee."

"For all that, Germany remains far too authoritarian. There's still too weak a grasp of the concept of the liberty of the individual vis-à-vis the state. Germans, for example, don't merely get annoyed with the driver in front of them who fails to signal, they take his number and inform the police!"

Herzog's visit threw into sharp relief the legacy of the gruesome Nazi past.

"The moral indignation of those here who opposed Herzog's visit is understandable. But Israel doesn't live in an international vacuum. Important reasons of state, political, economic and other support can't be lightly dismissed," Mosse says.

What also has to be accepted, both men say, is that Germany today is largely ruled by a post-war generation which has done a good job of building a solid democracy, and which, as Zimmermann puts it, can no longer be branded with the mark of Cain.

## Israeli force behind Spanish connection

Michel Zlotowski

DIPLOMATIC relations between Spain and Israel were established on January 17, 1986. Shmuel Hadas, a high ranking Foreign Ministry official, was named Israel's first ambassador to Spain. The 54-year-old Hadas was born in Argentina. A kibbutz member before joining the Foreign Ministry 30 years ago, Hadas is given much of the credit for the establishment of official ties between the two countries, according to diplomatic observers in Madrid.

Hadas first came to Spain in 1980, as Israel's representative to the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, a sequel to the Helsinki conference in which Israel has the status of a "non-participant country."

A year later, he was again sent to Madrid on a permanent basis as the Jewish State's envoy to the World Tourism Organization. Most of his time was devoted to developing links with Spanish political leaders, journalists and intellectuals. "I had to fill a total vacuum," Hadas told the Jerusalem Post. "Israel was non-existent in a country where 14 Arab

countries had active embassies." After a couple of years of hard labour in information, Hadas and his assistants convinced the Spanish press that the absence of official links between Jerusalem and Madrid was a "historical mistake." "This notion" became a commonly accepted idea," said Hadas.

It was a mistake in which both sides shared responsibility. After the creation of the State of Israel, David Ben-Gurion decided not to establish diplomatic relations either with Germany or with its World War II ally, Spain. Spanish ruler, Francisco Franco tried many times in the late Forties and early Fifties to convince Jerusalem to alter this decision, but to no avail.

Spain was then suffering from an almost total political boycott by the Western World because of the special relationship that had existed between Franco and Hitler, a relationship born in those days of the Spanish Civil War. But many Arab countries, were not bothered by this aspect of Spanish history, and began trading with Madrid, helping it to break out of the modern myth of Spain's "traditional good relations" with the Arab World stems from that period.

AT THE END of the Sixties, when Israel changed its mind and started to approach the Spanish government, Franco discovered that what had been earlier denied him, had become a strong card in his game with his Arab partners. From then on he constantly refused to consider an exchange of ambassadors between Madrid and Jerusalem.

Franco died in November 1975 and the same month, Juan Carlos was crowned King. President Ephraim Katzir sent the king a congratulatory cable. This was the first official step of an 11-year process that eventually led to the opening of embassies in both countries.

Franco's successors were willing to establish diplomatic relations, but the Arab countries crudely threatened to cut off their oil supply and to withhold their promised investments and loans.

Following the 1979 well-publicized encounter and hugging between PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja recognized the existence of Israel in a speech at the UN.

The decision to establish official relations was effectively taken in March 1982 by the then prime minis-

ter Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo and his foreign minister Pedro Perez-Llorca.

THE "PEACE for Galilee" operation and the Sabra and Shatila refugee camp massacre by Christian militia made it impossible for the Spanish government to exchange ambassadors with Israel. But this set back did not prevent officials from both countries meeting openly or visiting each other's countries. Shimon Peres, then head of the Labour opposition, met with Gonzalez, at a session of the Socialist International in Madrid in 1983. That same year, the Chairman of the Spanish Senate visited Israel.

Relations appeared near in 1985 but the Israel air raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis again smashed hopes for diplomatic ties between Israel and Spain.

Finally, in 1986, Shmuel Hadas's work with the presidents of the Spanish regional governments, with the press and with the nation's leaders paid off: Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez announced the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Slightly more than a year later, a

high-ranking Spanish official told *The Post* that he had "a very good feeling about this first year of relations."

Jorge Dezcallar, director-General of the Spanish Foreign Ministry's Middle East and Africa Department, said that the word "recognition" had on purpose never been used. "We sense good feelings on both sides. Israel will be present at ceremonies marking the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, which is also the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of Jews from Spain. In the coming weeks, our director-general for international cooperation, Luis Yanez, will go to Israel for that purpose" said Dezcallar.

The "good feelings" did not mask the political differences this week between Shimon Peres and Felipe Gonzalez. The Spanish prime minister, reportedly still insists on PLO participation in the Middle East peace process. The ongoing Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is also firmly opposed by the Spanish government. But these differences did not prevent both governments signing last February an important cultural agreement that will stress the common cultural heritage of the two nations.



Shmuel Hadas

(Reuters)

with the same period in 1986.

HADAS is particularly proud of one achievement: 11 of the 17 Spanish regions have Israel friendship associations. "Every month," he said, "there is an Israeli cultural event in at least 10 big Spanish cities throughout the country. This has helped to establish a positive image for Israel in Spain."

Hadas will soon be replaced as ambassador by Shlomo Ben-Ami. Ben-Ami, at present director of the School for Contemporary History at Tel Aviv University, is a member of the Labour Party and a personal friend of Shimon Peres. A student of Spain, his good relations with many Spanish socialist leaders will certainly help him in his coming task.

A lot remains to be done. Predominantly Catholic Spain (95 per cent of the population) has lived for close to 500 years without an official Jewish community. Not long ago, on Sundays, one could find anti-Semitic literature being distributed after mass. The pamphlets are no longer sold in the streets. But this reporter, looking into the window of a bookshop right in the middle of Madrid's main square, Puerto del Sol, found a black covered book, showing a red menora with the name "Israel" written in Hebrew. The book was entitled: *The Protocol of the Elders of Zion*.

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# Very Important Dinners



'Fear will get us nowhere,' argues Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur.

# Taking a risk towards peace

Asher Wallfish, Political Correspondent

ABSORPTION MINISTER Ya'acov Tsur is a stubborn fellow. He won't take "no" for an answer. The fact that he failed last year to persuade his party to plump for early elections doesn't prevent him from trying again.

I spoke to Tsur in his spartan office in Jerusalem's Hakirya government quarter the morning after his party leader, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, seemed to indicate which way the wind is blowing.

From distant Madrid, Peres signalled his condition for the continuation of the national unity government with the warning: "whoever undermines the peace process endangers the existence of the government." Before leaving on his trip to Europe to discuss the idea of an international conference for Middle East dialogue, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the Likud leader, had stated he hoped Peres would fail.

As far as Tsur is concerned: "We must have early elections, this year, and not wait till they fall due in the autumn of 1988."

"For two years the Labour party didn't have a genuine opportunity to bring the national unity coalition to an end. Today, when the suggestion of an international conference leaves us facing a choice between standstill and movement, we have a genuine opportunity."

Tsur said: "If we fail to grasp this opportunity, Shamir will continue to dictate the rules of the game. The Likud and not the Alignment will have managed to determine the character of this government for its entire term."

And he warned: "The Likud will have managed to make the Alignment share the responsibility for a Likud policy of doing nothing."

"But if the Labour party ministers are left to their own devices, I doubt whether they would reach a decision to work for early elections. They would have to be pressured. And the only place the pressure could come from would be from the party, from the broad membership, from the rank-and-file."

Tsur notes that if Labour misses the bus and does not work up to early elections within the next three or four months, it will be too late to do so this year, and then it might as well leave the elections until their due date in 1988.

He predicts that the Labour party will be astir with argument and debate over the next few months about the need for an early election. He assures *The Jerusalem Post* that on the strength of frequent visits to party branches lately, he is sure the membership is ready for such debate.

"Our members and our supporters say they have had enough of Labour's partnership with the Likud. They say we are being simply dragged along willy-nilly in Shamir's wake. They say there is no way we can go to the voters and explain why we did nothing about it, and why we carried on blindly for the 18 months which remain between now and the statutory election date in autumn 1988," Tsur said.

SINCE SHIMON Peres gave up the premiership last October and became Foreign Minister, exchanging jobs with Yitzhak Shamir under the arrangement called "rotation" in Israeli political jargon, what worries Tsur most about the Alignment leadership, is that it got used to nothing happening.

"There is a total reciprocal paralysis in the political as well as the economic sphere. The watchword of the national unity coalition is 'do nothing.' The norms of governmental activity which we used to follow have gradually deteriorated."

"We have abandoned all diplomatic initiative, vis-a-vis Egypt, vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and above all vis-a-vis the promotion of the peace process. The two parties, the Likud and the Alignment, do not even attempt to define in real terms, their respective areas of agreement and disagreement with respect to an international conference. There is no attempt at consensus."

"In world opinion, Israel is simply making a mockery of itself, as a result of this paralysis," Tsur said.

"Take the Soviet Union, where so many signs of imminent change are apparent. We are anxious to see Soviet Jews being allowed to leave. Surely now is the best time for Israel to talk to Moscow on issues like Soviet involvement in the Middle East, through an international conference," he asked rhetorically.

"We have to make use of linkage," Tsur said. "We have to make the exit of the Soviet Jews, our condition for their participation in the Middle East peace process."

Tsur points out that Jordan, not Israel, first came up with the idea of an international conference. Jordan

did so because it felt it could not talk to Israel without external support. As long as such support was not available from the PLO or an adequate number of Arab states, not only Egypt, the third alternative would have to be an international body.

He concedes that the present call, by Israel, for an international conference, was important as a means of maintaining diplomatic momentum even if it did not lead to dialogue soon, or at all, for that matter.

"A dialogue with Jordan would probably not result at all from the 10 conditions which Foreign Minister Shimon Peres posed to Jordan as requirements for an international conference. But at least Israel would be shown as taking an initiative and the other side would be saddled with responsibility for the decision. On the other hand, a total Israeli unwillingness to take initiatives would certainly not lead to progress and would saddle us with responsibility for stalemate," Tsur said.

"To be practical, I do not believe that peace with Jordan is an immediate possibility anyway, and therefore we should postulate that some lesser arrangement should be our interim objective," he said.

THE MINISTER, whose United Kibbutz Movement forms the most loyal group in the party behind Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, re-

jected my suggestion that Rabin does not favour Peres's consuming passion for an international conference.

"There is no conflict between Rabin and the Foreign Minister over the proposal," he insisted. "At the most, Rabin sees the risks involved more vividly than Peres. Shimon is less worried, but of course we do not need to worry about ways of avoiding an enforced solution by the powers."

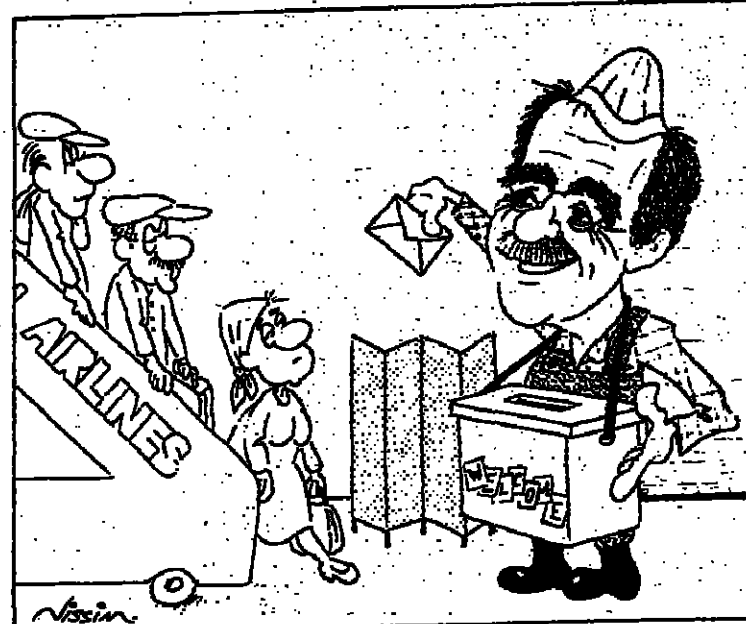
"If the Soviet Union or anybody else poses conditions or proposes terms which we cannot accept, and that risk certainly exists, we simply have to say 'no' and go back home," Tsur said.

"But we must not sit and do nothing just because every risk scares us. Fear will get us nowhere. Hence we have to practise flexibility where procedures are concerned, while holding fast to substance and to principles."

"Israel's image in the world is not admittedly the best and end-all, but it cannot be dismissed as unimportant either. It is better for us to be seen as ever-seeking ways forward, even procedurally, than to be lumped by the world into the same category as the Arab rejectionists," he said.

Tsur is convinced that the negotiations with Jordan, if they ever take place, would have to envisage a solution by stages or interim arrangements, because of the problems posed by the border to the east, and the security question.

"I don't see any answer at all just now, to the enigma of settling Israel's final borders, or of putting Jerusalem in its context, and that's why we shall have no choice but to work through stages in any negotiation. One can envisage many types of interim arrangement, whether along the lines of Camp David, or of a different kind of autonomy, or of functional separation between Israel and Jordan. The main thing is not to try and go the whole distance when you know you cannot, in a single move," he said.



## The advantages of being a kibbutznik

YA'ACOV TSUR is not a career politician in the usual sense. He is a long-time member of a kibbutz in the Jerusalem Hills, Netiv Hahemed-Hel. He can always go back to the farm, he says, if he gets tired of the political constraints imposed by compromise with the Likud in the national unity coalition.

In any case, as a representative of the United Kibbutz Movement, UKM, or *Takam* as it is called in Hebrew, he will eventually be replaced by some other kibbutznik, although the length of his term of public service has not been defined.

Tsur's freedom from professional and economic commitments, in the usual sense, gives him freedom to speak out more frankly, at times, than other Knesset members and ministers. That is one advantage of being a kibbutznik.

But he can only go as far as the UKM will let him, and he has to answer possible criticism should he be judged irresponsible in his political statements.

Last year, after Tsur called loud and long to torpedo the coalition agreement with the Likud on rotation, his kibbutz colleagues reined him in, and he eventually held his peace. They may wish to rein him in once again this year.

Tsur, 50, married with four children, is a teacher by training, and a graduate in Bible Studies and History from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His main organizational post before entering the Knesset in 1981 was as secretary of the Kibbutz Meuhad, now part of the United Kibbutz Movement. The most prominent photo on his office wall is that of the late Yigal Allon.

ASHER WALLFISH

## Why an early election is not so likely

THERE are those who compare our innermost circle of power — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin — to a trio of bookends; if one is removed, the other two will surely fall, what with the ramifications of the Pollard affair and intrigues. Their strength appears to be in their national unity government's collective weakness, and in widespread apprehensions over their heirs.

That's why those-in-the-know discount acting Foreign Minister Ezer Weizman's talk of early elections. Shamir, while doing his best to scuttle Peres's drive for an international peace conference, revealingly said at midweek that he won't bring the issue to a cabinet vote, adding "Peres can if he so wishes." Shamir doesn't want to be blamed for bringing down the grand coalition, still popular with the electorate.

While Peres's tactics are presently unclear, Deputy Premier and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon doesn't see elections on the horizon.

PUBLIC FACES  
Mark Segal

The Labour Party's position will be clarified at its convention in June, when it votes on ex-MK Michael Bar-Zohar's motion to disband the coalition.

After Shamir launched his long-distance torpedo against Peres's efforts to get Spain's King Juan Carlos and Premier Felipe Gonzalez to help in raising the international peace umbrella, a bemused Spanish spokesman commented: "We don't understand the Israeli government." For that matter, neither do we.

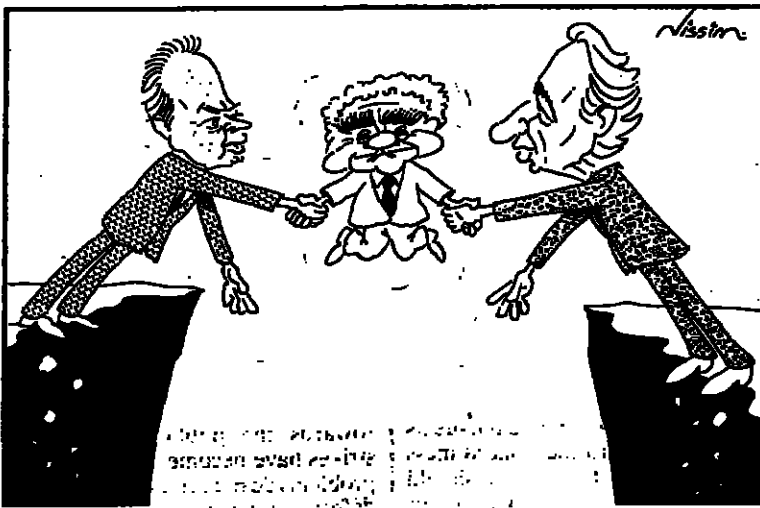
When ex-ambassador to Washington MK Simcha Dinitz was asked how it is possible for an Israeli ambassador to explain Israel's current policy, he replied succinctly: "He can't."

AFTER THE historic ceremony at Bergen-Belsen, will the critics — from the Likud's Haim Kaufman to

Labour's Shevah Weiss — of President Chaim Herzog's symbolic mission to the graves of Holocaust martyrs, have the guts to apologize?

I gather that it was only at the Swiss government's insistence that the ceremony marking the 90th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress at Basel was included in President Herzog's official itinerary during his visit to Switzerland. It appears that the Swiss Jewish community had decided to cancel the event, because according to the original plan, Jewish Agency/WZO chairman Arye Dultzin insisted on speaking together with the president. It seems they are very *broigetz* with Dultzin over his role in the Bank Leumi affair.

IT APPEARS that any high hopes of Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee Chairman Abba Eban becoming the national cleanser of political leaven will have to wait until after Pessah. He felt obliged to take time off from the intelligence subcommittee's investigation of the



Pollard's plan to fly to New York for his special award by the Israel Historical Society for his *Heritage* TV series.

Only Labour's Dinitz and the Likud's Dr. Eliahu Ben-Elissar (former envoy to Cairo) are presently toiling away daily until 7 p.m. on the investigation. As to their absentee colleagues: Likudniks Ehud Olmert

was abroad and David Magen was somewhere-in-Israel; the NRP's Dr. Yosef Burg accompanied President Herzog to Germany; Eban's deputy chairman Micha Harish got more publicity than anyone else from being abroad (with his wife) in the Far East since the inquiry began. Back home this week, he claims that Peres sent him on a "major mission." He denies he got back in time to protect Peres's interests in the inquiry's report. Some say Olmert will do the same for Shamir and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens.

ONE QUESTION being asked in Herut is whether Shamir's "princes" — Acting Interior Minister Ronni Milo, MK Dan Meridor and Olmert — will succeed in foiling the ambitions of Binjamin (Bibi) Netanyahu to switch from the UN ambassadorship to the party's top seven.

thanks to the patronage of party secretariat chairman Arens, as new chief of the Shamir faction? Incidentally, many Labour people see Bibi's influence in the attacks on Peres and other Israeli leaders by his pal, influential American columnist William Safire.

Netanyahu may see fit to describe the Pollard affair as "a light scratch" on U.S.-Israel relations, but that is decidedly not the view of Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi. His mother's death obliged him to cut short a U.S. visit. After the *shiva* ended, the minister told me how much he disagreed with the envoy, "I fear that the Pollard Affair and our role in it will leave deep scars that will take a long time to heal," he said. When addressing a large B'nai B'rith-ADL assembly in Los Angeles, Ya'acobi said "Israel expressed its deep regrets for the Pollard affair, and you know what it is for Israelis to apologize. It's against our national character."

He caused hilarity when telling the joke about the international polling team seeking replies to the question: "Please, excuse me, what's your opinion of the meat shortage?" The Poles said: "What's meat?" The Russians wanted to know: "What's opinion?" The Americans asked:

"What's a shortage?" and the Israelis: "What's please and excuse me?"

FORMER deputy foreign minister, the NRP's Dr. Yehuda Ben-Meir is the latest candidate mooted to succeed Ambassador to Washington Meir Rosenfeld, due to leave after Independence Day. There's speculation that such a nomination will put Peres on the spot. If he stonewalls, it'll annoy the NRP, a potential partner in a small coalition. So far the top and bottom names on Peres's most recent list of candidates — Ya'acobi and Prof. Shlomo Avineri, a former foreign ministry director-general, have opted out.

The other two are his political adviser Nimrod Novik and ex-ambassador to Paris and Bonn, Asher Ben-Natan. At an earlier stage, Peres also recommended his former consul-general in New York, Naftali Lavi. I'm told that when recommending Novik, Peres told Shamir: "We need someone who'll be good on television."

One of American Jewry's most effective spokesmen, the ADL's Abraham Foxman — here for Pessah — says it's bad for U.S.-Israel relations that the key appointment of ambassador be left unresolved at the present time. Being sensitive to "domestic political considerations," Foxman has a novel proposal for Shamir and Peres: "I suggest they designate seconds. Then lock them in a room with a pile of telephone books, and don't let them out until they come up with a short list of nominees acceptable to both sides."

Foxman has been the target of congratulations in Jerusalem's streets and hotels, ever since reports that five Syrian Jews were released from prison after he beseeched ex-president Jimmy Carter to intercede with Syrian President Hafez Assad.

IT WAS really the wedding of the season, with quite a mix of our top religious and political people ming-

ling with the ultra-Orthodox and fashionably dressed women, when law student Meyron, son of MK Rabbi Menachem Hacohen and his wife, Ben-Gurion University lecturer Dr. Dvora Hacohen, was married by his father to Caroline, daughter of Adrienne and Harvey Baker of London.

Among the VIPs there were acting President and Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hilel, the two chief rabbis, Mordechai Eliahu who blessed the young couple, and Avraham Shapira, who danced with the bride — with a handkerchief of course separating their hands — cabinet ministers Navon, Weizman, Moshe Shahal, Zevulun Hammer, Ya'acov Tsur, and Arik Nehamkin. And Deputy Finance Minister Adiel Amoral. There was a multi-party turnout of MKs including Dinitz, Eliyahu Speiser, Haim Ramon, Yitzhak Artzi (Alignment) and Rabbi Haim Drukman (NRP); plus ex-MKs like Lova Eliav and Ra'anan Na'im and other leaders of the Moshav movement, of which Hacohen is communal rabbi. Among well-known relatives present were Netanyahu Chief Rabbi Israel Lau and UJA Israel office director Naftali Lavi.

A U.S.-BORN teacher, Yehudit Cohen, who came here 10 years ago, is one of the two winners of the first Hebrew short story contest, held by *At* magazine as an annual memorial event to its late editor, Deborah Lewin.

The writings of Cohen, of Moshav Nir Israel, and Ruth Richter of Haifa were selected from 130 stories submitted to a jury, headed by *Ma'ariv* literary editor Hanaor Bartov, including the late editor's brother, Beersheba District Court Judge Yosef Lewin. *Ma'ariv* deputy editor Levy Yitzhak Hayerushalmi eulogised the deceased, and her successor as *At* editor, Yehiel Limor, conducted the ceremony on the first anniversary of her death.



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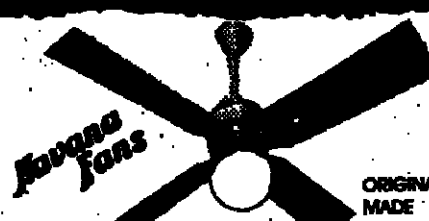
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# A matter of dignity

Allan E. Shapiro

THE GOVERNMENT of Israel has both the right and the duty to learn from the mistakes it made immediately after the discovery of Jonathan Pollard's espionage activities. The decision to cooperate fully with the American criminal investigation, it should now be clear, was a serious error. It is time to draw conclusions and to draw the line.

The agreements reached with the American administration, permitting the interrogation of Israeli officials implicated in the Pollard operation, was, as Shamir, Peres, and Rabin proudly announced, without precedent. Actually, the unprecedented nature of these arrangements should have been cause for concern, not for pride.

Independent nations do not operate this way, and with good reason. Exposing sensitive intelligence operations to the scrutiny of a foreign power is a negation of national sovereignty. Israel's major fault in the Pollard affair was penetrating an area of American activity that was clearly out of bounds. It cannot be corrected by permitting a reciprocal fishing expedition.

International law, recognizing the political facts of life, regards espionage as a political crime. For this reason, it is excluded from the offences for which extradition can be demanded. This is true of the extradition treaty between the U.S. and Israel. When it comes to matters of this sort, dealings are between governments, not individuals. Whether or not Eitan, Sella, and the others acted with authority or not, the nature of their roles and activities should put them beyond the examination and interrogation of a foreign power.

This does not mean stonewalling, or justifying the Pollard operation. It does mean, however, that the proper forum for dealing with the matter is diplomatic, not judicial. The lesson of the ill-starred cooperation between Israel and the U.S., permitting the interrogation of Israeli officials by American authorities, is that there is no middle way.

BY WAY of contrast with their behaviour in the Pollard affair, Shamir, Peres, and Rabin insisted that a sensitive security agency, the General Security Service, was out of bounds to any investigatory process, when it came to an internal Israeli matter. The high office of the Israeli presidency was brought into the matter, through the exercise of the presidential pardoning power, in an attempt to ward off an investigation of a crime which, in itself, had no security justification. It is as though Israel's political leadership deals with the people of Israel as if they were a foreign power, while the Americans have a right to demand accountability.

A bad precedent was set when a government minister, Ariel Sharon, turned to the American courts to vindicate his reputation in his vendetta with Time magazine over its inaccurate reporting of aspects of the

Sabra and Shatilla massacre. This resulted in the examination of Israeli political processes in a foreign court, culminating in an examination of the secret annex of the Kahan Commission's report.

If Sharon had displayed the concern for Israel's sovereignty that he reportedly feels with regard to the Pollard arrangements, he would never have brought that libel action. As a minister, he should have realized that, regardless of the result, an

**Internally, Israel should pursue its investigations into the Pollard mess to the limit. Externally, it should proceed with dignity and a proper insistence on its sovereign independence.**

American court was not the proper forum for the issues to be resolved. The dignity of office and a proper regard for the implications of sovereign independence should have been sufficient to rule out the application to a foreign judicial tribunal.

The arrangements for cooperation in the Pollard affair were worked out and initially implemented through diplomatic channels. Experience shows, however, that agreements made through the State Department have doubtful value when they deal with the administration of American justice.

The U.S. attorney-general himself is only partially in control of the central organs of the Justice Department. Agencies within the department have a tradition of qualified independence from central control. During the Kennedy administration, for example, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy had a running battle with the chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, nominally his subordinate. Later, president Lyndon Johnson, despite his dissatisfaction with Hoover, declined to dismiss him, reportedly declaring that it was better to have Hoover "inside the tent, pissing out, than outside the tent, pissing in."

When it comes to U.S. prosecuting attorneys, in charge of the actual prosecution of people suspected of committing crimes against the federal government, central control is even more tenuous. These officials are typically political appointees, supported and nominated by the local organization of the political party in power. Their career patterns are locally oriented, without regard to the foreign policy objectives involved in decisions at the national level.

Espionage investigations, and

trials have proved in the past to be excellent opportunities to advance personal careers. The judge who sent the Rosenbergs to the electric chair in the atomic spy case more than 30 years ago was elevated to a higher court. The prosecutor was appointed to the federal bench. His assistant launched a career of witch-hunting as a key aid to Senator Joseph McCarthy. Some of the statements that have been made about the Pollards remind one of the charge in the Rosenberg trial that giving atomic secrets to the Russians had been a cause of the Korean War, with all the resulting American casualties.

FORTUNATELY, the cooperation agreement on the Pollard affair has, in effect, been cancelled by the Americans, dissatisfied with the degree of Israeli readiness to reveal operations of a sensitive security character. By reneging on the Pollard plea bargain and moving to indict Israeli officials involved in the affair, the U.S. prosecutor, unconcerned with the broader international implications of his actions, has undone the work of the U.S. State Department.

There is, therefore, no reason for the government of Israel to help the U.S. prosecuting attorney pursue a grander design, beyond the framework of the Pollard case itself. There is no justification for allowing a fishing expedition into the internal workings of Israel's Defence Ministry.

This appears to be the aim of the demand that Harold Katz, a former assistant general counsel in the ministry, appear before the U.S. federal grand jury. Katz ceased to be a Defence Ministry legal adviser in 1983. He has given a sworn affidavit to the U.S. prosecutor with regard to his knowledge, or lack of it, of the Pollard affair. In a public statement, issued April 2, he declared:

"I have never declined to answer the prosecutor's questions, and offered to do so without any claim of the Fifth Amendment privilege. The government of Israel did not refuse permission to the U.S. prosecutor to question me. Since I had dealt, with in my duties as an adviser to the Ministry of Defence, with matters sensitive to the government of Israel, the government of Israel required that such interrogation take place in Israel, at the U.S. Embassy if need be. The prosecutor declined."

Quite properly, Israel has prohibited Katz from going abroad to appear before the U.S. grand jury. It should act with a view to returning further dealings with the American government to the diplomatic channels appropriate to relations between sovereign states.

Internally, Israel should pursue its investigations into the Pollard mess to the limit. Externally, it should proceed with dignity and a proper insistence on its sovereign independence.

The writer is a political scientist.

PERHAPS BECAUSE Israel lacks institutional norms of accountability, we have the foolish expectation that the many scandals plaguing us will cease if those involved would only take personal responsibility. This despite the fact that most of these scandals are clearly the result of a failing system of government.

Our almost exclusive preoccupation with punishing individuals — while important — distracts us from the essential: the urgent need to reform our system of government. Moreover, personal criticism often degenerates into gossip, rendering public criticism and control ineffectual by spawning a cynical nihilism about politics and government. For if these scandals are indeed mostly the result of basic human failings, a flaw in the Jewish or Israeli character, and not symptoms of a system gone awry, then the popular sentiment that "this is what we've got," that "there is no chance for a change," are valid and, indeed, "everything is rotten."

Recent economic thought, especially Public Choice Theory, (for whose development Prof. James Buchanan recently received the Nobel Prize) can teach us why most of these scandals are the result of a system of government that creates negative incentives and weak constraints.

Public Choice Theory maintains that public bodies, especially governments, are no different from private bodies in seeking their own advancement first and foremost. The assumption that public bodies, unlike private ones, seek the common good, is simply a myth with no basis in reality. Indeed, public bodies are more vulnerable than private bodies to pressure from vested interests. The issue goes far beyond mere corruption. The common good is an amorphous concept. Only rarely does a consensus exist regarding it, and even then, its application to practice is controversial and usually determined as a result of political struggle between interest groups. Public bodies depend on these groups for their support and must, therefore, serve their needs rather than "the common good."

SINCE THEY are neither privately owned nor accountable to profit-seeking shareholders, public bodies are not subject to the economic and social incentives and constraints that compel private firms to be more efficient and more responsive to the public. With no economic constraints, public bodies tend to be swayed by political considerations. They become the private fiefdoms of politicians and technocrats who manage them as they see fit, in collusion with powerful vested interests, as has happened in Bank Leumi, Hevrat Ovdim, the regional purchasing organizations and numerous other corporations.

What is true of public bodies goes for their employees, whose attitude towards the public and wild-cat strikes have become notorious. The problems do not arise from character defects but again, from negative incentives and faulty constraints. As Adam Smith observed, it is not through the generosity of the baker

# The reason for scandals

Daniel Doron

and the butcher that we get our meals. It is their desire for profit which makes them compete to serve us efficiently. Government services, which are not paid for directly, but financed by compulsory taxes are non-competitive. Furthermore, government intervention in the economy encourages monopolies and cartels, even in Israel's "private" sector. Monopolies cannot be penalized for providing inferior services or goods, nor for inflating prices, whether of electricity, telephone services, noodles or chocolate. The government gives its workers no reward for providing better service. This being the case, what is surprising is not the inferiority of government services, but the fact that they manage to function at all.

When we consider that the power, status and rewards of any bureaucracy depend on its expanding its activities, manpower and resources, it is clear that it is to expect bureaucracies to streamline their activities. Even in business, where the need for profitability dictates efficiency, bureaucracies try to limit competition by any means, including political manipulation. It should come as no surprise, then, that a government bureaucracy, already in possession of political power, will use it to gain economic power in order to maximize its influence. As government increases its control over the economy, people's choices are reduced, political freedom diminishes and totalitarian tendencies increase.

Even in countries such as the U.S., which have a strong system of checks and balances to curb government power, official bodies formed to supervise economic activity have usually become captives of the groups they were intended to supervise. The latter have specific interests which it is worth their while to devote resources to promoting. They also know how to emphasize the public interest aspects of their case. The public is diffuse and its interests vary. Individuals, therefore, do not have the incentive, means or information to combat special interests. This explains why pressure groups invariably exploit government intervention in their favour and why the number of pressure groups increases when governments allocate resources. The only way to reverse the degeneration of this system and eliminate the enormous waste involved not only in its operations but also in the competition for its favours, is to cut government intervention in the economy drastically, limiting it to strictly necessary cases.

BACK TO pretensions. Medicine, like other sciences, developed rapidly when it was understood that no one doctor could treat all illnesses and that specialization was necessary. Yet we expect from governments of relatively short duration, managed by amateurs devoting most of their energy to political conflicts, to solve all our problems. Even if politicians possessed boundless ener-

gy and talent, one cannot expect expertise in every department. In order to succeed in devising solutions to social problems a person must absorb a great deal of information, establish an order of priorities and apply his efforts judiciously. Should he try to achieve everything, he will end up by achieving nothing.

Governments try to do everything, and the bigger they are, the harder they fall. Ambitious welfare programmes not only failed to solve the problems they addressed, but often exacerbated them by creating the wrong incentives and constraints, thus preventing people from helping themselves.

Israel faces complex problems internally and externally. One cannot expect even a well-run regime to solve them all successfully. Our government's pretensions at tackling all our problems — from setting the rate of interest to determining the size of doughnuts — is not conducive to the proper handling of our critical problems. Besides wasting resources, such government involvement encourages political strife in every department of national life.

The government's tendency to over-regulation and control is based on the illusion that social and economic processes can be predicted and planned. The development of the social sciences, especially economics, led experts to believe they could predict and even control future trends. Yet, the predictions on which government budgets are based rarely materialize. Even if the government received perfect information and could digest it in time to frame policy guidelines and translate them into operational directives, is it conceivable that a cumbersome government bureaucracy could execute such directives successfully? The best firms with fewer and more coherent objectives, and with well-paid and well-trained staffs, find it difficult to attain their relatively simple goals. How, then, can we expect governments to achieve the impossible: to control a complex society and economy successfully? Moreover, we expect government to perform all these miracles out of self-sacrificing devotion to the common good; and when we discover that our politicians, in order to be re-elected manipulate the economy or seek power and influence, we react like the proverbial individual who is shocked to discover that his butcher is not a vegetarian.

Only a stubborn disregard for reality and a wish to have others solve all our problems can explain our failure to admit to the inability of government, any government, to take upon itself so many tasks. Only a naive bordering on folly prevents us from understanding that unless we drastically reduce the role of government and create for public servants a different system of incentives and constraints, all the scandals and failures that we so bemoan will pale in significance in comparison to what may yet come about.

The writer is director of the Israel Centre for Social and Economic Progress, an independent public-policy think-tank based in Tel Aviv.

# The death penalty fits some crimes

Judge Haim Dvorin

for the reinstatement of the death penalty. And the British government and parliament seem to be leaning towards a partial reinstatement, for such offences as murdering policemen or terrorist activity.

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, this was British Mandate territory and the civil code was the old Ottoman (Turkish) Law. One of its provisions held that "as times change — the rules of law change." This seems to me as apt today as it was then.

Throughout the period of the British mandate — some thirty years — only three or four Jews were tried for murder and even their crimes were committed within the context of political disturbances or inter-ethnic strife.

Today, hardly a week goes by that there is no fresh murder, or rape, or brutal robbery committed against the aged and the helpless. We have before us a new situation, warranting a new approach which — to my mind — means the reinstatement of capital punishment in appropriate cases. Based on my experience, as a lawyer and judge since 1941, I feel that the death penalty can, in all probability, act as deterrent.

A criminal sentenced to life imprisonment today, may have considered the punishment prior to committing the crime and reasonably have concluded that this is not the end of the road: there is always the chance that he will escape from prison; that he will be eligible for a general pardon in certain circumstances; or for a presidential pardon, being released on parole after serving two-thirds of the commuted sentence.

On the other hand, a potential

offender, who knows he runs the risk of capital punishment, will think hard and long before committing the crime. As Aristotle said, people avoid crime not because it is bad, but because of the punishment which may result from it.

THE OVERRIDING consideration in the controversy should be the public interest, outweighing all other considerations, even the possibility of legal error. To minimize that possibility, I suggest the following:

- 1) that the composition of the court judging a capital offence be broader than at present; namely that seven judges, or at least five (rather than the current three) hear such cases;
- 2) that — contrary to the legal position at present — the evidence of a single witness be insufficient to elicit a conviction but would have to be corroborated by some other legal proof; and
- 3) that the decision to impose the death sentence be left to the discretion of the court.

At present, the offence of murder

carries with it an automatic sentence of life imprisonment. The death sentence should be the maximum sentence laid down by law, but not be mandatory. The court would be authorized to impose it as it sees fit, and it will presumably do so only in the most clear-cut cases which leave no doubt; that the offence committed has been particularly brutal or caused irreparable damage, whether physical or mental (as in aggravated rape, for instance). In all cases, the court will use its discretion, imposing the sentence it deems fit and appropriate.

The writer is a former vice-president of the Tel Aviv District Court.

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## TENNIS

## Livid Mac beats Noah

DALLAS (AP). — Comeback-minded John McEnroe had harsh words for fans, officials, court-side photographers and opponent Yanni Noah but maintained his composure to win 7-6 (7-2), 6-2, 4-6, 6-3 on a Wednesday night in the first round of the ATP tennis finals here.

McEnroe and Noah were at the net for an exchange of unpleasantness during the fourth set. When McEnroe was protesting a line call with chair umpire Richard Kaufman and Noah, waiting to serve, grow impatient.

The players shouted at one another from their respective baselines, then advanced to the net. "I've been waiting," said Noah. "You just play, you just play," answered McEnroe.

McEnroe also became impatient with court-side photographers during the third game of the first set. They were taking pictures of McEnroe's wife, Tatum, who was seated in the front row of the court stands. McEnroe went to the group of photographers and said, "Stop taking pictures of my wife, I don't like it and she doesn't like it either."

The fiery American now goes on to meet Stefan Edberg in their semi-final match to be played tonight.

At Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, Chris Evert Lloyd overcame a loss of 2-6 and her opponent to advance to the third round of the \$300,000 Family Circle Cup tournament. She beat Petra Bamberger of Austria 7-5, 6-2.

Top seeded Steffi Graf, Zina Garrison, the No. 3 and Gabriela Sabatini also had little trouble with their respective second round opponents.

## CRICKET

## England beat Aussies yet again

SHARJAH (AP). — England defeated Australia by 11 runs in the penultimate match of the Sharjah Cup cricket tournament in a thrilling finish yesterday.

The results left the four-nation tournament outcome in an intriguing position.

If India beat Pakistan in the final match today, England will win the cup on preferential run rate after all four teams will have completed their three matches. If Pakistan win, they will take the trophy home.

Scores: England 230 for 6 (50 overs), Australia 219 for 9 (50 overs), England won by 11 runs.

## GOLF

## Peete leads masters

AUGUSTA, Georgia (AP). — Calvin Peete, 43, from Fort Myers, Florida, the 1986 tournament of champions winner, and Taiwan's TC Chen, set the early pace in the first round of the 51st U.S. Masters Golf tournament here Thursday.

After a slow start this season because of a shoulder ailment, Peete shot a 71 on the 6,905-yard, par 72 Augusta National Golf Club course.

The first major tournament of 1987 was played in ideal weather with bright sunshine, little wind and warm temperatures.

## NBA

NEW JERSEY (AP). — Moses Malone scored 50 points and grabbed 12 rebounds in leading the Washington Bullets to a 118-109 victory over the New Jersey Nets on Wednesday night.

In other games it was Atlanta Hawks 116, Philadelphia 76ers 92; Sacramento Kings 111, San Antonio Spurs 110; Utah Jazz 103, Dallas Mavericks 90.

## NHL

NHL. — Wednesday's semifinal playoff results (best-of-seven series): PATRICK DIVISION: Rangers 3, Philadelphia 6; Washington 4, New York Islanders 3; (N.Y. Rangers and Washington lead the series 2-1); ADAMS DIVISION: Montreal 3, Quebec 2 (OT); Montreal 6, Boston 2 (Hartford and Montreal lead series 4-1); NORRIS DIVISION: Detroit 3, Chicago 1; St. Louis 3, Toronto 1 (Detroit and St. Louis lead series 4-0); SMITH DIVISION: Los Angeles 5, Edmonton 2; Winnipeg 4, Calgary 3; (Los Angeles and Winnipeg lead series 1-0).

## SOCCER PREVIEW

## Fans expecting players to do their duty

By PAUL KOHN  
TEL AVIV. — Soccer fans will be hoping to see the same sparkling form that Daniel Brailovsky, Eli Ohana, Uri Malmilian and Moshe Sinai showed against Romania on Wednesday in tomorrow's National League matches.

The centre-piece match in National League will be the double header in Petah Tikva, starting at 1.30 p.m. when Maccabi Petah Tikva play Maccabi Tel Aviv. The Petah Tikva side have been moving up the league table and are now within one point of Maccabi Tel Aviv thanks to 1-0 wins in their last two matches. A similar result could find them in third place by tomorrow evening.

Maccabi Tel Aviv meanwhile, have been involved in drawn games, and their forwards Eli Dricks and Benny Tabak look distinctly out of touch. But with Avi Cohen, Menashe Shimonov and Bonnie Ginsburg, members of the squad who visited Romania, in the Tel Aviv defence they should not lose this game.

Another much improved team, Maccabi Netanya, visit Hapoel Petah Tikva, that match beginning at



DUTY BOUND. — Maccabi Haifa's Daniel Brailovsky.

3.30 p.m. Netanya are likely to be without Shalom Tikva, who scored Israel's second goal against Romania

within just two minutes of taking the field. Five minutes later he limped off injured. This leaves Yigal Menachem to lead the attack. Hapoel Petah Tikva, though in 9th position compared to Netanya's third place, have a superior goal difference, 24-19 compared to Netanya's 26-23 goals.

Betar Jerusalem, playing at Bloomfield should be too strong for Hapoel Beersheba, and if Ohana and Malmilian show the same form as they did in Romania, Betar could add a few more goals to the 48 they have already scored in league games this season.

Second placed Bnei Yehuda appear to have a tougher task at the Hativka Quarter where they host last season's champions Hapoel Tel Aviv. Hapoel, are probably the most disappointing team of the season, having netted only 17 goals in 23 matches. But this is a derby clash and is sure to be a tough battle.

Other National League fixtures will be: Maccabi Haifa v Hapoel Kfar Sava in Haifa, 3.30 p.m.; Shimonov v Maccabi Haifa at Bloomfield 1.30 p.m.; Betar Tel Aviv v Hapoel Lod at the Winter stadium 3.30 p.m.; and Maccabi Yavne v Betar Netanya in Yavne at 3.30 p.m.

## EUROPEAN SOCCER

## Bayern and Ajax revive old glories

LONDON (Reuters). — Bayern Munich and Ajax Amsterdam revived memories of the days when they ruled supreme over European soccer as they undid Spanish hopes of an elegant march into the two major finals.

By beating Real Madrid and Real Zaragoza in unexpectedly convincing, if bruising and undisciplined, fashion in the Champions' and Cup Winners' Cups respectively on Wednesday night, they not only took decisive strides themselves, but also banished the ghosts of their previous great teams.

Between them, the West German and Dutch clubs had won the premier trophy six years in succession from 1971 to 1976 — Ajax setting the example with three straight wins from 1971-73 — and, though Bayern reached the final only to lose in 1982, it had always seemed an awesome act to follow.

Bayern removed all their fears in rapid and devastating style against depleted and disoriented Real Madrid as they swept to a crushing 4-1 win with three goals in the opening 36 minutes.

Madrid, six times winners and seeking a 10th appearance in the Champions' Cup final in Vienna on May 13, became the team weighed down by history as they slumped to an acrimonious defeat, conceding two penalties and having two players, forward winger Jussino Gomes and midfielder "Mito" Serrano, sent off.

Sweeper Klaus Augenthaler, Roland Wohlfarth and newly-appointed captain Lothar Matthaus, from a spot-kick, but Bayern in command before Emilio Butragueny replied for Madrid. Matthaus converted a second penalty in the second half.

Madrid, even with their famous Houdini reputation built on extraordinary second-half recoveries at the Santiago Bernabeu Stadium, may find the deficit beyond them in two weeks' time.

But their Dutch coach Leo Beenhakker remains optimistic. "The way they performed, first with 10 men and then with nine, was great. We have a tough task ahead of us in Madrid... but let's wait and see who comes out of this." Should Madrid triumph, they are likely to face Dynamo Kiev in the final. The much-admired Soviet side lost 2-1 to Porto in Portugal, but should comfortably recover the deficit in the return leg in the Ukraine thanks to Pavlo Yatsenko's vital away goal 17 minutes from time.

Ajax, living up to their tradition for style as well as strength, won 3-2 on a waterlogged pitch in Zaragoza in another incident-packed semifinal first leg tie in which Johnny Bosman scored twice and was sent off.

Uruguayan striker Ruben Sosa put Zaragoza ahead, but Rob Witschge and Bosman headed Ajax into a commanding lead before Juan Somoza's penalty reduced the arrears and Bosman and Francisco Gurreri were sent off for fighting.

Ajax are likely to face East Germany's Lokomotiv Leipzig, who beat Bordeaux 1-0 in France with a Uwe Bressow goal, in the Cup Winners' Cup final in Athens on May 13.

In the UEFA Cup, Sweden's Gothenburg overcame Austria's Swarovski Tyrol 4-1 to become favorites for the final against either Dundee United of Scotland or West Germany's Borussia Muenchengladbach, who drew 0-0.

In London, fighting between fans of English First Division neighbours West Ham and Arsenal marred the Hammers' 3-1 home victory over the League Cup Winners.

The start of the second half was delayed by eight minutes as supporters spilled on to the pitch and police charged into one section of a stand to separate the battling factions.

But once the trouble had been sorted out, West Ham — held to 1-1 at half-time, after Arsenal penalty king Martin Hayes had cancelled out Tony Cottee's 10th goal for the Hammers — pulled away from their rivals.

Cottee's second goal of the game — a penalty — and Liam Brady's first for West Ham condemned Arsenal to their 10th League game in a row without a win.

Meanwhile, Newcastle moved out of the bottom three for the first time since December when they came from behind to crush Norwich 4-1 at home.

## BASEBALL

## Jackie Robinson's teammate fired for racist remarks

HOUSTON (AP). — Al Campanis, vice president of player personnel for the Los Angeles Dodgers, the team that brought blacks into baseball, has resigned under pressure following his statement that blacks may not be qualified for management jobs in baseball.

The resignation on Wednesday came amid a firestorm of criticism over Campanis' comments on Monday night on ABC-TV's "Nightline" programme.

Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth, interviewed on "Nightline" on Wednesday night, said he would put his job on the line to increase management opportunities for blacks in baseball.

"We have blatantly said baseball needs to improve (on blacks holding front-office jobs)," Ueberroth said. "If we didn't intend to do something about it, we would have ignored it. We're going to do something about it."

Currently no blacks hold managerial or general manager positions among Major League baseball's 26 teams.

Upon arrival in Los Angeles from Houston, where the Dodgers opened the season against the Astros, Campanis called his resignation "Something that I think had to be done for the good of the club and for all concerned. That's all I've got to say."

"Comments given by Al Campanis are so far removed from what the organization believes that it is impossible for Al to continue his responsibilities," Dodgers President Peter O'Malley said after breaking the news to the 70-year-old Campanis.

A storm of criticism from current and former Dodgers, Major League and local civic officials followed Campanis' remarks on the programme, a 40th anniversary review of

Jackie Robinson's breaking Major League baseball's colour barrier.

Ironically, Campanis played alongside Robinson in 1946 when Robinson broke in with the Montreal Royals, a Dodger minor league team.

The Dodgers' on-field fortunes also continued to falter, as they lost their third straight since the seasons opener to the Houston Astros on Wednesday, falling 7-3.

Houston, as well as Cincinnati and San Francisco, are all unbeaten after three games. The Giants won their third straight by beating San Diego 2-1, while the Reds won their second in a row over Montreal 7-2. In Wednesday's only other National League contest.

In the American League, Frank Viola of the Minnesota Twins struck out 11 players — including six in a row — in a 4-1 victory over visiting Oakland.

Other American League results: Toronto Blue Jays 5, Cleveland Indians 1; New York Yankees 6, Detroit Tigers 5; Texas Rangers 6, Baltimore Orioles 4; Milwaukee Brewers 3, Boston Red Sox 2; Kansas City Royals 9, Oakland Athletics 1; Kansas City Royals 9, Chicago White Sox 3; California Angels 7, Seattle Mariners 1.

OUR OFFICE has been swamped with two kinds of people recently: craftsmen who've secured a stand at next Wednesday's Forsake Me Not Pessah Fair and craftsmen who were too late. That's how quickly the Fair's stalls were snapped up!

Why the fantastic response? Partially because of the wild success of our Hanukkah Fair last December, which attracted more shoppers than the facilities could take (we have more than double the space this time); another reason, of course, is the good cause of the Fair — each stall owner is donating NIS 100 to the Forsake Me Not Fund, as well as a sample of their work which will be awarded as door prizes; but the main reason for the great demand for table space is that there are so many talented and imaginative artisans, many of whom are home hobbyists who don't market their creations commercially.

Thousands of unique handicrafts will be displayed by some 75 craftsmen at the Fair, mostly ranging in price from NIS 3 to NIS 50, but continuing into the hundreds of shekels.

The giant bazaar will include ceramics, jewelry, stained glass, olive wood products, embroidery, dried flowers, ethnic art, Judaica and much, much more, plus unusual items as handmade flutes, hydroponic plants, natural cosmetics, comic books, painted sweatshirts and scarves and Roman glass jewelry.

There will also be commercial exhibitors: Baron Wine Cellars (that will be a popular stand — free wine testing!), Bug Computers, Roots, Zionshous Jerusalem and Domino Press. The carnival atmosphere will be enhanced by hourly puppet shows for the kiddies, donated by the fabulous folks at Me'ever La'daf, plus balloons, a clown and even... a gorilla.

The Forsake Me Not Pessah Fair is a perfect opportunity to get your holiday gift shopping done. Don't miss the event, this Wednesday, from noon to 9 p.m., at the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel. Admission will be a five-shekel donation (children under 12 free), which includes a raffle ticket for the door prizes (first prize, weekend for two at the Hilton Hotel, second prize, dinner for two at the Hilton Hotel, third prize, haircut and shampoo at Roots, fourth prize, a copy of Front Page Israel, published by The Jerusalem Post). The 50 winning ticket numbers will be published in The Jerusalem Post on Friday, April 17. See you at the Fair.

Don't forget that the children's needs are just as great as those of the elderly. Send your cheques today to The Jerusalem Post, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

## "FORSAKE ME NOT"

NIS 300 From our American friends — B'nai B'rith A.H. #4 and ZOA.

NIS 250 Bridge Party 12, Jerusalem — the 35th contribution.

NIS 160 In honour of our friend Kurt, who will be eighty and is so young in spirit — Anni Eisenberg, Mia Kruener, Irene Levinsohn, Zina Lachowicz, Jolli Melow, Friedel Rosenthal, Alice Tietz, Lotte Zwerdt, Tel Aviv.

NIS 114 In honour of the 75th birthday of Else Obermeyer of Haifa and the 39th birthday of the State of Israel — both on May 4th, 1987 — Naomi, Michael and Nurit Gila Cohen, Jerusalem.

NIS 100 In honour of the 75th birthday of Martin Spitz, with best wishes for some healthy

## Roll up, roll up

Sam Orbaum

years together — Spitz — Van Wezel family. In memory of my parents Dinah and Ike Sherman — anonymous, Ramat Aviv. In honour of Edith Silverman on her 80th birthday — Mike and Frankie Jaffe, Haifa. Henry and Stephany Michaeli, Tel Aviv. Lisa Bergman, Jerusalem.

Participants of the Forsake Me Not Pessah Fair — Rene Greenberg, Michael Fokelman, Carol Malka, Anastasia Ben Yavon, Joanne Rottenberg, Shoshana Harari, Doron Bahari, Shoshana Moses, Betty Rosen, Adina Wishhoff, B.B. Dolls, Naomi Katz, Debbie Markowitz, Rosanne Friedman, Rosemary James, Ethel Carner, Lorraine Kessel, Rena Vardi, Danny Azula, Hannah Porat, Naomi Ziri, Dorit Rosenfeld, Adi Barim, Domingo Press Ltd., Bevorah Hoffman, Alexander Lewkowicz, Shoshie Matzliach, Moshav Elazar, Kibbutz Givat Haim, Am Gittis, Nahum Tushman, Varda Levy, Roots, Yael Gerchman, Chaya Miller, Magdalena, Daniel Plauter, Sara Segal, Caroline Harris, Doron Lev, Ronen Elav, MaBaron Winery Ltd., Chana Pessin, Stephany Garvin, Israel Comics, Hod Ben Zvi, Dido and Rosanna Alon, Michal Coranil, Marilyn Gershoni, David Herman, Vered Remez, Talva Wosherhorn, Debbie Surocher, Zion Tours, Gidi Shalev, Dason Ltd., Kuzari, Reyeven Prager, Debbie Cuker, Daphna Grimes, Xanadu, Daniel Howarth, Cynthia Pincel, Rakel Ben-Najita, Sandra Gruber, Ben Payer, Sonia Sherwin, Pina Zolman.

NIS 90 In honour of Jace and Mandy Imber, who have made Aliyah and whom we all wish good health and a Happy Kila — name and Bernard Aronson, Jerusalem. I. Zeligman.

NIS 80 For the Yitzkor and Yahrzeits of my dear parents, Harry and Jane Serr, Leeds, England — Doron Serr, Ramat Gan. Anonymous, Tel Aviv.

NIS 50 Frederica, Haifa. In memory of my husband, R. Watson, Kfar Sava. In honour of Ruth and Morris Bleider of West Beach Florida — from their children and grandchildren, Jerusalem. In honour of Nona Elvira, Rome — Ariel and Shoshana, Jerusalem. E. Gottman, Haifa. In honour of our 3 grandchildren, Jerusalem. In memory of Miriam Edelstein — R. Herschowitz, Tiberias. Zvi and Ester Regbi, Haifa. In honour of my dear husband's 84th year — Anonymous, Kiryat Gat. In honour of Martin Spitz on the occasion of his 75th birthday — Dr. P. Glaser, Safad. In honour of the 80th birthday of our dear friend Gideon Michtom, Pardes Hanna — M. Zomer, Hadera.

NIS 40 In honour of the 75th birthday of Martin Spitz — Bettie Davis, Herzliya, Bridge Partners, Ramat Gan.

NIS 37 Anonymous, Haifa.

NIS 36 Lamed Vav, Jerusalem. For the well being of David and his wife — Anonymous, Kfar Sava.

NIS 30 In memory of our beloved parents — Chanan and Ruth Nijr. In loving memory of a dear father, Alfred Disraeli Webber — R. W. E. Omer. In honour of Annie's birthday, Happy birthday — Sue Kriskbaum, Jerusalem.

NIS 25 Anonymous, Tel Aviv. B. Wise, Holon. R. Zeligman, Haifa. Ben and Miryam Shuman, Jerusalem. Renita Friedman, Jerusalem.

In honour of Joe Hanson, his birthday, and the wedding anniversary of Judy and Joe — Avis, Tel Aviv. In appreciation for work done by Sydney Wolman — N. Neufeld, Rehovot.

NIS 20 In memory of Shimon Herscovitch — his children in Israel. From Ziv and Yoram, Tichon Daled, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Tel Aviv.

NIS 18 Sol and Mimi Greenberg, Rishon LeZion. Miriam Reed, Tel Aviv. N.N. in memory of my sister Rivka, Jerusalem. In honour of the 60th birthday and 30 years since aliyah of Pien and Sal Gauer — Ida and Esther Marcus, Jerusalem. Theresa and Abe Lashansky, Ra'anana. Leah Aronson, Jerusalem. In loving memory of my dear husband Abbot and brother Philip — Rose Kline, Beer-sheva.

NIS 15 In honour of my late husband and parents — H. Lixenberg, Jerusalem.

NIS 10 Anonymous, Tel Aviv. Avraham and Eleonora Shifrin, Zichron Ya'akov. H. Schoenberg, Jerusalem. Theresa and Abe Lashansky, Ra'anana. Leah Aronson, Jerusalem. In loving memory of my dear husband Abbot and brother Philip — Rose Kline, Beer-sheva.

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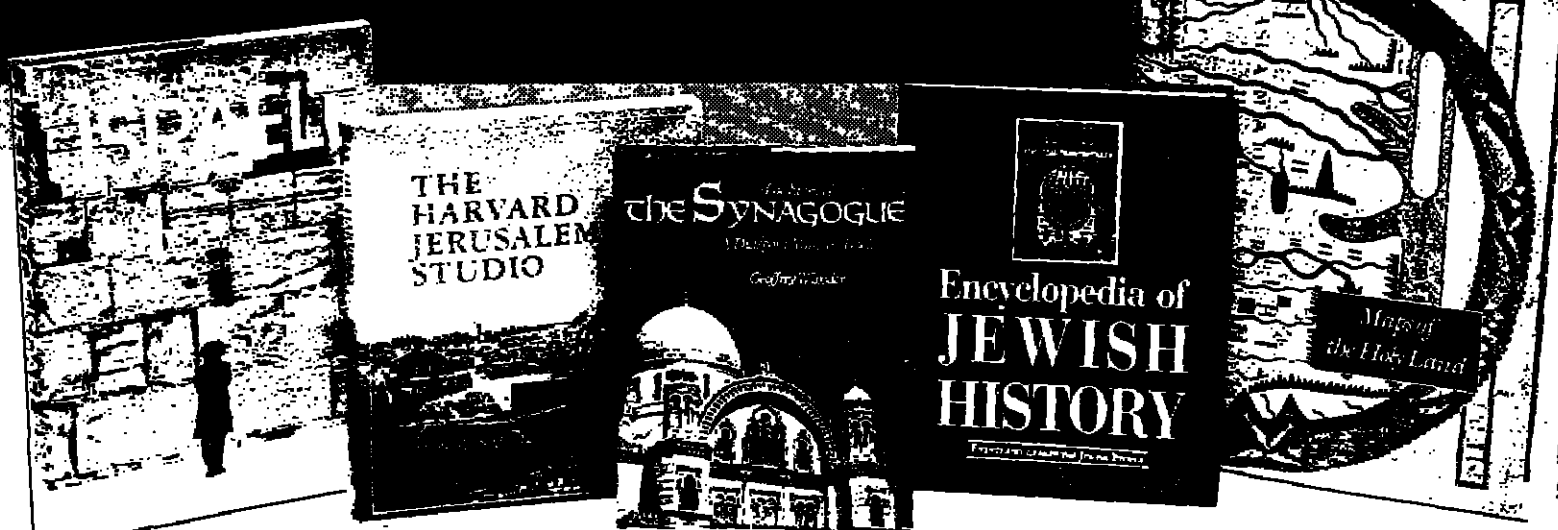
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**L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART**. Visiting hours: Sun-Thurs. 10-1; 3:30-6. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-12. 2 Hapalmach St. Tel. 02-681291/2. Bus No. 15.

**OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM**. Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II, 6 Or Hahaim Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun-Thurs. 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

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# Maccabi takes the Cup

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hapoel Galil Elyon — playing in their first State Cup final — gave Maccabi Tel Aviv a heart-stopping scare last night. Galil Elyon were 20 points ahead at halftime, but finally lost.

In the first half, every one of Galil's shots found its way into the basket. Galil shot 80 per cent from the floor in the first 20 minutes. Brad Leaf topped the parade with 22 points before the half. Galil's marvelous play benefited from Maccabi's woeful defensive efforts.

But Galil's joy was short-lived. Five minutes after the second half opened, the champions outscored the upstarts 17-3 and took over the lead at 70-69 with 11 minutes to go. From then on, there was no looking back, and at the end, Maccabi won 95-86.

The difference was partly tactical, as Maccabi coach Zvi Sherf went with his three big men, Kevin Magee, Lee Johnson and Howie Lasso in the second half, and Maccabi responded by taking control of the game.

Magee finished with 29 points, 23 of them in the second half, while Doron Jamchee had 18. Johnson 16 and Lasso 14. Brad Leaf led the losers with 31 points, 22 before halftime.

Elitzur Kiryat Ono's women's team won their third consecutive state cup when they beat Hapoel Givat Haim by 75 points to 72 in the early game at Yad Eliyahu.

Veteran Anat Dreiger led Elitzur's scorers with 30 points while 17-year-old Aluma Goren scored 35 points for Givat Haim.

## UNREST

(Continued from Page One)

In Ramallah have been closed down following disturbances.

Elsewhere in Ramallah, troops used tear gas to disperse a crowd of protesters at the local post office. A curfew was clamped on the downtown area from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. after a petrol bomb was thrown at troops. The bomb exploded harmlessly.

Bar-Lev said that according to his information the prisoner strike had been caused by the frustrated hopes of prisoner leaders who expected to be exchanged for IDF soldiers held hostage in Lebanon.

The minister revealed that in prisons where the strike has ended, prison administrators were looking into prisoners' complaints. He said the Prison Service was in the process of implementing recommendations of a committee which had examined conditions of security prisoners.

In accordance with these recommendations, Maimon has stopped contacts through prisoner leaders, opting for direct talks with prisoners who have complaints.

Bar-Lev said the prisoners' demands, such as an international inquiry into their treatment, were all political or security related. "On security there is and will be no compromise," he said. Specific complaints of maltreatment could be referred to the prison administration, he said.

In a letter distributed this week to the prisoners, Maimon called on them to end the strike, saying the

protest was futile and was only harming prisoners and their families. Maimon promised "humane and proper treatment," but insisted that he would run the prisons strictly according to Prison Service guidelines, and would maintain full control of the jails.

Maimon told Israel Radio yesterday that while he had not altered prison conditions, he had stopped contacts between prison officials and inmate leaders and denied free passage between cell blocks. Maimon has maintained that such movement facilitates indoctrination of younger prisoners in terror tactics. Maimon rejected prisoners' complaints of inadequate food and medical care.

Malika said windows of cells had been covered in accordance with practice in all high-security jails, but he conceded that overcrowding was a problem common to all Israeli prisons.

Meanwhile, the prison commissioner said yesterday that the number of hunger-striking prisoners had declined to 900, and that the strike was in effect only at the central West Bank jail at Jaid, and at the Hebron prison. The strike which began March 25, had originally spread to seven prisons in Israel and the West Bank, and had included over 3,000 prisoners.

Prison Service spokesman Shimon Malka said 18 prisoners had been concentrated in one prison for medical observation. Red Cross reports said 14 prisoners had been hospitalized.

## BANK SHARES

(Continued from Page One)

A series of brief responses to these ideas were given by Zaid Bino, the new chief executive officer of Bank Leumi; Amnon Goldschmidt, the deputy chairman of banks; Prof. Amir Barnea, of Tel Aviv University; Dan Galai, of the Hebrew University; and Ya'acov Gadish, the former director of the Treasury's budget division.

The overall debate developed into a clear confrontation between two distinct schools of thought, with almost all the government speakers contending that the problems be dealt with gradually and over a prolonged period. The independent speakers proposed rapid and comprehensive action to prevent the effective, if not actual, nationalization of the banking system, which will come with the bank shares' redemption.

Especially noteworthy was Barnea's remark that he had changed his views on the subject over the last year, since having served on the committee headed by Examiner of Banks Galia Maor. That committee's report had supported a gradualist approach, but Barnea said that developments in the banks' profitability and the changes in their boards of directors had forced him to different conclusions.

ANTI-TERROR — The French cabinet yesterday adopted two bills authorizing the ratification of international accords aimed at reinforcing anti-terrorist measures, a government spokesman said, in Paris.

(Continued from Page One)

taken from Demjanjuk's Red Army documents.

Defence counsel Mark O'Connor had cross-examined a confident-sounding Scheffler all day Wednesday, and yesterday morning his colleague John Gill took over. In the afternoon, as the Israeli member of the defence team, Yoram Sheftel, was taking his turn questioning Scheffler, Demjanjuk suddenly motioned to court president Dov Levin with his head and hand indicating that he wanted to speak.

Levin acknowledged him but said that the accused could not at this stage address the court directly. He instructed O'Connor, however, to ask his client what he wanted.

"Take your time," Levin said, as O'Connor, Gill and Sheftel all turned around to the defendant's box. Demjanjuk seemed to want to explain something to them. He gestured vividly as he spoke probably in English rather than Ukrainian.

After about five minutes of consultation, O'Connor turned to the bench and said that his client wanted to ask the witness some questions, particularly concerning the colour of the uniforms worn by Trawniki men.

He also wanted to make some points of his own concerning the ID card.

"Go ahead," Levin said. "We would even allow the defendant to ask direct questions [not in cross-examination], but that would not be fair to the prosecution. The trial is of great importance to him, therefore we allow him to ask questions at this stage."

At this point Judge Zvi Tal turned to O'Connor and said: "You've indicated that your client is forbidden to write notes; where do you get this idea? He can certainly do that."

Here Levin added: "What he can't do is send out notes, to journalists, for instance."

When O'Connor communicated this to Demjanjuk, the latter nodded his head and smiled. The lawyer showed his client an enlargement of the photograph on the ID card, and there was a lively exchange of talk between the two.

Meanwhile, Levin told prosecutor Shaked that: "We are ready to allow the accused to ask some questions, because of the obvious importance of the trial to him."

Demjanjuk then stood up, and in a warm, basic, speaking firmly into the microphone, said in Ukrai-

nian: "I thank the court for giving me its permission to speak. I want to ask Prof. Scheffler some questions."

"These questions are very important for me. I'm a long time in jail now, and I know what my end could be. I disagree with some of the things the professor said."

As Demjanjuk's personal translator started to speak, his words came out in Ukrainian instead of Hebrew. As he realized his mistake, he apologized and said that he had for so long been used to giving a running translation into Ukrainian to his client, that he had forgotten that the new situation called for Hebrew.

As the audience laughed at the mishap, Demjanjuk also laughed out loud and clapped his knee in a very natural gesture. With the unfamiliar sound of his voice and his participation in a moment of mirth, his hitherto bland personality took on a new dimension for onlookers.

Demjanjuk then asked Scheffler



about the yellow uniforms which had at first been worn at Trawniki to be followed later by black uniforms.

Scheffler answered that he had never mentioned "yellow" uniforms and that the Trawniki men had been known as "the black ones" in the surrounding country-side, because of the colour of their uniforms. (The description of the uniforms as "yellow" was probably a mistranslation, and should have been "brown.")

At this, O'Connor interrupted the questioning of Scheffler by his client, and Levin asked the lawyer: "Do you want to have another consultation? You can't have it both ways. If your client asks questions, I can't stop the witness from answering them."

Levin seemed to be speaking in an effort to prevent the accused from doing possible damage to his own case. Indeed, Demjanjuk's words could have been interpreted as implying that he had in fact been at Trawniki, something he and his defence have strenuously denied so far.

But in his next remark Demjanjuk seemed to retreat from the danger-

ous ground he had been treading. "Of course, my words are not based on what I know," he said. "Only on what I heard at this trial."

Demjanjuk then discussed the collar button clearly visible on the otherwise not very clear outline of the uniform shown on the ID card photo. "This is a shirt button, not the button of a uniform jacket," he said.

Scheffler: "This looks like a uniform jacket. One should compare it with other photos from Trawniki."

Demjanjuk: "The professor should take a magnifying glass and examine the photo. I've been shown this photograph for eight years in the U.S., I see many things that are false in it."

At Levin's request O'Connor handed Scheffler his magnifying glass and the professor inspected the photo closely. "It's difficult for me as a historian to determine whether this is the collar button of a shirt, or that of a uniform jacket."

After this exchange O'Connor again spoke to Demjanjuk. "I'm explaining to my client what is going on," he said.

After this, Levin called both the prosecution and the defence to the bench for a lengthy consultation, the results of which were not announced.

Demjanjuk then had the last word. "I want to thank the honourable professor, the honourable court, and all the people who listened to me."

Levin to O'Connor in a dry tone: "I understand you have completed your cross-examination of the witness now?"

"Yes, your honour," the defence counsel said with a wistful expression on his face. Earlier during the interlude his look had seemed to vary from frustration to bewilderment.

Observers were undecided in their reaction to a very dramatic passage in the trial, which has seen many points of high interest.

Was Demjanjuk expressing a feeling of loss of confidence in his defence team? Had he come close to incriminating himself by obliquely indicating that he had, in fact, been at Trawniki? Or had the court and the audience witnessed some kind of breakdown in the remarkable composure John Demjanjuk, aged 67, has so far displayed during the long weeks of his trial?

The trial will resume on the day after Pessah, Tuesday, April 21.

## Panama scandal may touch Israel

By WALTER RUBY

NEW YORK — Israel may soon find itself publicly linked to a Panamanian general accused by the Central Intelligence Agency of drug smuggling, murders and sending secrets to Cuba, according to a Hebrew-language newspaper published here.

The weekly newspaper *Yisrael Shelanu* claims in its latest edition that the Panamanian envoy to Israel, Mike Harari, a former Israeli whom the paper names as an ex-Mossad agent, is the right-hand man of Panamanian strongman Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

According to the newspaper, supporters of Israel in Washington are warning the Israeli government that the Mossad is mixing in politics in Panama and its close ties to Noriega are likely to be revealed in congressional investigations into the general's activities. These sources are said to have urged Israel to break its close ties with Noriega.

The newspaper quotes unnamed pro-Israel activists in Washington, as warning that if it is revealed that the Mossad is closely collaborating with Noriega, the blow to Israel's image here "will be worse than (Israel's) connection with South Africa."

Noriega has been widely reported to have been involved in laundering funds for the Mafia, counterfeiting money, murdering political opponents, arming left-wing guerrilla armies in various parts of Latin America and selling military secrets to Cuba. The president of Panama, Eric Arturo del Valle, who is Jewish, was installed in office by Noriega, and is widely viewed as a puppet who gives the Panamanian regime legitimacy with the international community while Noriega calls the shots.

A Panamanian senator, Jesse Hermes, who is a dedicated opponent of Noriega but is himself a friend of Israel, has charged that Noriega is the head of the largest drug-running organization in the Western world. The CIA has also accused the general of drug running.

Harari is said to be a former Mossad agent who took part in the killing of a Palestinian waiter in Norway.

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For sale, drip irrigation system, Kibbutz Samar, 052-7201, 052-7217, Denny or David.

3 Lilliput pear trees for sale; Kibbutz Samar, 052-7201, 052-7217, Denny or David.

130 dunnies for sale, 7 km. off irrigation water meter, 052-8178.

5000 dunnies of 20mm, drip irrigation pipes, 052-735456, 052-735457, 052-735458.

Exclusive in Israel exotic plant saplings, Rishon Grading Nursery, 052-70415, 052-70416.

Ramoth, 30 dunnies wheat for sale, 052-445452.

Decorative garden, driving in, 052-8178, for work in orchard, 052-8178.

Rose seedlings for households, 052-8178, 052-8179, 052-8180, 052-8181, 052-8182, 052-8183, 052-8184, 052-8185, 052-8186, 052-8187, 052-8188, 052-8189, 052-8190, 052-8191, 052-8192, 052-8193, 052-8194, 052-8195, 052-8196, 052-8197, 052-8198, 052-8199, 052-8200, 052-8201, 052-8202, 052-8203, 052-8204, 052-8205, 052-8206, 052-8207, 052-8208, 052-8209, 052-8210, 052-8211, 052-8212, 052-8213, 052-8214, 052-8215, 052-8216, 052-8217, 052-8218, 052-8219, 052-8220, 052-8221, 052-8222, 052-8223, 052-8224, 052-8225, 052-8226, 052-8227, 052-8228, 052-8229, 052-8230, 052-8231, 052-8232, 052-8233, 052-8234, 052-8235, 052-8236, 052-8237, 052-8238, 052-8239, 052-8240, 052-8241, 052-8242, 052-8243, 052-8244, 052-8245, 052-8246, 052-8247, 052-8248, 052-8249, 052-8250, 052-8251, 052-8252, 052-8253, 052-8254, 052-8255, 052-8256, 052-8257, 052-8258, 052-8259, 052-8260, 052-8261, 052-8262, 052-8263, 052-8264, 052-8265, 052-8266, 052-8267, 052-8268, 052-8269, 052-8270, 052-8271, 052-8272, 052-8273, 052-8274, 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052-8775, 052-8776, 052-8777, 052-8778, 052-8779, 052-8780, 052-8781, 0



"THERE is a clear parallel between the state of the pension funds and the bank shares collapse. Granted, there are also significant differences – but there is a remarkable similarity between the processes in the two sectors," said Yitzhak Blass, one of the country's leading independent actuaries and the former actuary for the Histadrut pension fund.

"In the case of the bank shares, securities were sold to the public far beyond their real value. How? Simply because there were more buyers than sellers. People were persuaded to believe in the likelihood that the shares' value would rise, so they bought.

"In a crude sense, it became like a chain letter, where each link makes a profit if new links are forged by more people joining. So long as that happens it works, but it cannot work indefinitely. How long it can carry on depends on the nature of the system.

"In a chain letter, the thing grows rapidly and quickly exhausts itself. The bank shares took years before the process reached the point where the number of new buyers no longer exceeded the number of sellers.

"With pension funds, which are engaged in long-term activity, the process takes decades. But the principle is exactly the same. In Israel we are moving into a situation where the game is beginning to break down. But there is still time to avoid a crisis and a collapse."

Blass spoke last Sunday at a seminar on the subject of the pension system. The three-hour workshop was organized by the Israel Centre for Social and Economic Progress, and held in Tel Aviv. But the participants, both panel speakers and floor respondents, had precious little progress, either social or economic, to impart to their audience, and the panorama they presented on the pension system was grim indeed.

THE WHOLE structure of pensions is wobbly. Nor is this problem in any way confined to Israel, since the pension and social security systems of every Western nation are heading for crisis over the coming genera-

tion. Some are already in deep trouble. Furthermore, our local problems have been the subject of prolonged debate, which has recently focused on the report published last year by an inter-departmental Treasury committee headed by Micha Winter, the deputy commissioner for capital markets.

However, as Winter himself was quick to point out, debating the issue for years has not led to any fundamental changes. Putting the issue bluntly, Winter said that the question was whether the economy could carry the burden of its pension liabilities. The answer, in his view, was an unqualified no.

Instead of referring to his own report, which is plainly coming out of his ears, Winter quoted from the report prepared by an independent actuary of one of the pension funds, and which Winter believed was valid for them all.

The report noted that the cash flow from the pension fund's intake going to the Treasury (where the overwhelming bulk of such money must be compulsorily invested in government bonds) will decline steadily over the coming years. This, in Winter's opinion, is no bad thing. He would welcome forcing the funds to seek more of their "cover" through investment in the market. He is thus well-disposed to the thrust of the current reform which will gradually push the funds into open-market investments, and stop the issue of special, non-negotiable bonds made-to-order for the pension and provident funds.

The key point, however, is the actuarial fact that the fund's cash flow is already negative, and will become increasingly negative as time goes on, because of demographic trends. In other words, because the population is aging and life-expectancy is growing, while the number of new entrants to the work force – the people who make pension contributions – is declining, the pension fund's outflow will increasingly outstrip its income. Within 10 years the fund is expected to start "acting itself up," i.e. living off its investments, and within 30 years, it will be

## Pensioned off

Pinhas Landau reports that the country's pension funds face a crisis. The system 'has simply been too generous in the past, and the bills are now coming due.'



(Ya'akov Shalich)

wiped out. All this, of course, is based on extrapolating current trends.

Winter, however, didn't lay the main stress on the actuarial disaster facing the pension system. He believes – and his report explains why – that the crisis will break out much earlier than 20-30 years hence, via the government's budget.

The first stage of the problem noted above, the drying up of pension fund inflow to the Treasury, which is currently used to finance ongoing expenditure, will provoke a major crisis – and this within a few years. Thus the government will no longer be able to rely on the pension system as a source of income, and will, in the following stage, have to start making net payments to the funds to redeem past bond issues, instead of receiving net revenue from them.

ANOTHER SPEAKER, Professor Avraham Friedman of the Hebrew

University and a former senior Treasury official, also referred to this problem. He said that the faith that he and many others had once had in "budgetary pensions" – meaning that the government receives money destined for pensions decades later, uses it for current expenditure, and pays pensions from each year's budget as necessary – has totally dissipated. In view of the experience of the government and of several major institutions, including the Hebrew University, he now believes that budgetary pension arrangements should be discontinued. Apart from their structural problems, they cause severe distortions and provide some groups with much better terms than others.

Going back to Winter, and his quotes from the actuary's report, the fact that "there is an insufficient level of contributions for the given level of rights that pension fund members are guaranteed" highlights

the source of the problem and points to possible solutions. SINCE THE funds – and it is important to stress that the problem involves all pension saving, whether budgetary, pension fund, provident fund, or via insurance companies – are heading for a situation where they will not be able to meet their obligations, or at least the government will not be able to meet its obligations to them (which comes to the same thing). Something, therefore, has to be done. There are essentially only two ways out of the problem – either current members paying more, or the recipients getting less. All solutions are variations on those themes.

Perhaps surprisingly, the only person to suggest that the age for receiving pensions be raised was Dr. Asher Halperin, the managing director of the Banking Association. This is an obvious way of reducing pension obligations and also boosting receipts by extending working lives.

The fact that it means effectively reneging on past commitments is unpalatable to many, but probably unavoidable in the end. The Israeli pension system has simply been too generous in the past, and the bills are now coming due.

PENSION rights could be cut in some other way, of course, and suggestions were made to reduce the level of pension as a percentage of retirees' last pay cheque, or average pay over the last three years of his working life. Another possibility is to cut the number of elements in salaries to which it applies – although the Histadrut is working to broaden the base of pensionable pay, and thus to increase rights.

Finally, there is the option of increased savings by setting the pension contribution as a higher percentage of current pay. An agreement between the Histadrut and the government will go into force next year whereby contributions are raised by 1.5 per cent of pensionable pay, with 1 per cent coming from employers and 0.5 per cent from employees. According to Ya'akov Antler, the current Histadrut actuary, this increase would not raise labour costs more than would be the case otherwise, because it would be considered a part of overall wage rises.

This notion, however, was pooh-poohed by other speakers with Yitzhak Blass noting that it would take a savings level of 15 per cent of total GNP to finance current pension obligations, and it is dubious if this level of resources is available. Another speaker, a member of the Manufacturers' Association, predictably countered that the claim that higher pension contributions were seen as part of wage rises was not borne out by the reality of wage negotiations.

Antler admitted explicitly what the others hinted at, that the present set-up whereby the government promised a real interest rate of 6.3 per cent, over and above indexation, was insupportable. He believed that the market could pay 4 per cent (although he didn't say how this was to be achieved in an economy that

hasn't grown for years) and he thought the government should finance the difference as a social obligation.

This is a far cry from the capital market reform that will force the pension funds to invest in the free market without a guaranteed return, as is normal in Western countries. Furthermore, according to Antler, reducing the rate of return on future investments would mean an immediate reduction on ongoing pension payments.

While the Histadrut's Antler laid great stress on the proposed consolidation of the Histadrut's pension fund empire into one overall fund, Blass poured scorn on this strategy. Reverting to his bank share analogy, he said that in the late 1960s and early 1970s there had been a number of failures of small banks, each of which had cost the Treasury a few million dollars to sort out. Those failures had been manageable. But the Treasury's response was to encourage the consolidation of small banks into an industry structure where big banks dominated. The result was that when these monster banks came to grief – as it was inevitable they would, in a non-competitive environment where size was the key consideration – it was on a monstrous scale, and cost the economy billions of dollars in losses.

All in all, it was thoroughly depressing. The absence of a speaker committed to the issue of pension funding, instead of the statist philosophy that was implicitly shared by all the panel members, was rightly bemoaned by Daniel Doron, the director of the think-tank that organized the seminar.

As the Treasury's Nahum Vermus made clear, the reason why nothing has been done to date is because the politicians, when presented with the problem, ask what is likely to happen in the next three to four years, which is their time horizon. Since the answer so far has been that the danger is longer-run than that, and no crisis is imminent, they put it on the back-burner to simmer quietly until it eventually boils over.

## Sharing out the shares

David Horowitz/London

FROM BANGLADESH to Chile, Japan to Hungary, privatization continues to be one of the great growth industries of the decade.

In Japan, the telecommunications industry has gone private, and tobacco and salt production are heading the same way. Bangladesh's government has divested itself of the jute, textile and chemical industries. Pakistan has privatized rice, cotton and flour, and Chile has sold of 18 banks, 13 corporations and even the national pension scheme.

The disposal of national assets – whether by public flotation, private sale or management-worker buyout – brings quick funds into the government treasury, and usually makes for greater efficiency, at least in the short term.

NOWHERE has the privatization drive met with more widespread public approval than in Margaret Thatcher's Britain. Twelve state-owned corporations – including Brit-

ish Gas, British Telecom and British Airways – have been sold off since the Conservatives came back to power in 1979, and approximately seven million Brits now have a stake in one or more of these enterprises.

When the drive was launched, the prime motive was undoubtedly to raise some quick cash and cut back the national deficit. But the government quickly realized that the elusive man in the street was becoming hooked on the share-owning bug. Privatization in Britain has transformed the public's attitude to capitalism – breaking down the barriers between employers and workers, and breeding a strange but firm commitment to a massive institution from each investor with a tiny stake in its future.

INITIAL results have shown that privatization can work wonders for moribund state dinosaurs: British Aerospace, Jaguar, Cable & Wireless and the National Freight Consortium have all posted increased

profits since privatization, although the long-term outlook is not quite so bright in every case. British Telecom users complain of rising prices and a steadily worsening level of customer service, while many pundits fear that the continuing monopoly of the privatized British Gas will inevitably lead to a decline in standards. The selling off of sectors of the National Bus Company has left some areas without public transport, where the private companies found routes unprofitable.

In Britain, then, privatization may yet turn sour, as the opposition Labour Party has been predicting almost from the word go. But statistics show that 75 per cent of those who bought shares in British Telecom, and 90 per cent of those who invested in British Gas, are holding on to those shares. Apparently the majority of small investors, perhaps surprisingly, were not out for a fast buck, but are genuinely keen to invest in Britain.

A longer-term worsening of performance in the privatized industries, or a series of falls on what is at present a high-flying stock exchange, would leave these shareholders disgruntled, to say the least. The public-ownership drive might yet rebound in the Conservatives' faces. World governments thinking of diving in, and those with less-advanced privatization schemes, would be well advised to monitor developments in Britain in the next few years very carefully indeed.

## Lift barriers to competition

David Krivine

way it can, through a regimen of regulations and controls.

Paternalism is good when the child is young; it becomes stifling when he reaches manhood. Israel is no longer in its swaddling-clothes. Once upon a time government controls were a substitute for the market. Now that a market for goods exists, and one for capital is emerging, these controls prevent them from functioning effectively. In the past, the controls stimulated activity; today they slow it down.

Kleiman sees this country as enormously conservative. Traditions become institutionalized and cannot be dismantled. Dr. Daniel Doron, head of the Israel Centre for Social and Economic Progress states: "The heavy hand of government regulates everything to death." [Doron article page 9]

The authorities protect everybody: consumers through subsidies and price controls; professional associations through fixed tariffs and the prevention of "unauthorized" competition; producers through tax exemptions and rescue loans.

Bureaucracy is thus not confined to the public sector. It exists wherever competitive conditions are absent, which is another way of saying: wherever the government intervenes. Its intervention results even in the legitimization of cartels. Insurance companies get together and fix tariffs for the whole branch, with government approval. Result? Prof. David Lev-Hari of the Hebrew University: "Life insurance premiums are higher here than abroad, though life expectancy in Israel is the same."

Lawyers are allowed fixed commissions, calculated as a percentage of the transaction for which they prepare the documents. In the U.S. it is illegal to fix prices for a whole profession. Moreover, in the U.S. and other countries lawyers charge by the hour, regardless of the size of the transaction. Israeli lawyers are liable to get rich with very little effort.

The government thinks that by fixing tariffs it keeps prices down. We are back with the costs-plus syndrome. Experience shows that prices are lower if competition is allowed. For a whole corpus of reasons, the labour movement finds that conclusion hard to stomach.

The distortions of government controls go further. The state subsidizes higher education. Now, why should the taxpayers, including people who never went to university, pay for the tuition of lawyers, who are then supplied, thanks to the indulgence of that same government, with well-padded incomes for life?

The government is supposed actively to dissolve cartels, and does so, up to a point, in the industrial sector. But it promotes cartels everywhere else. The country is riddled with "guilds." Conclusion: the government saps the natural energy that, under conditions of free competition, would activate the economy.

FREE COMPETITION: that is an elusive goal. The forces of the market are thwarted by the government's well-meaning but bungling efforts to look after all and sundry. Selling off government companies would be fine if the companies were then left to their own devices, says Kleiman.

What happens in practice? When they make money, they keep it; when they lose money, they run to the government for succour. "Only the profits are privatized," he points out. "The losses remain nationalized."

He sees no sense in the present over-generous method of financing private companies.

"The government owns the capital and makes it available – by lending it on easy terms. If the company makes a loss, the authorities get nothing back. If it makes a profit, the loan is returned, and that is all."

A government that chooses to go into business should, in all fairness to the public whose money it handles, conduct itself like a hard-headed businessman.

"Instead of lending on preferential terms, it should use the cash to buy equity," said Kleiman. "It could then re-sell this equity to the man in the street through unit trusts." Companies would weigh up more carefully whether to take government money if they had to give up shares for it; while this method of handling money-flows would promote the growth of a "people's capitalism."

Government companies can also be sold off directly. Who would buy them? According to Lev-Hari, "Those who buy government bonds. Undertakings do not have to be sold en bloc. Shares could be offered in the companies themselves or in the unit trusts."

"The bonds find a market because provident and pension funds are compelled by the Treasury to buy them. They should be free to buy shares in Paz Petroleum if they prefer. Holders of bank shares (those that the government undertook to redeem in the bank crisis of 1983) should be permitted to trade them in for stock in government companies."

Another possibility is what Lev-Hari calls Esop, the employee stock-ownership plan. Shares in small denominations could offer a constructive channel for the savings of a company's own employees, e.g. El Al pilots.

If the government started to realize on its sizeable accumulation of assets in these various ways, it would be decreasing its borrowings by a corresponding amount, thus contributing to a growth of the capital market, and at the same time checking the growth of the national debt.

WHAT ABOUT public services – health, for example: should that be privatized? The problem here, Kleiman observes, is that a person's physical well-being cannot in all conscience be left to the tender mercies of market economics.

"In theory, people with small incomes should cover themselves against risk by taking out a health insurance policy. But suppose they don't, are they to be left sick and ailing without medical treatment?"

"The government finds itself here in the position of trustee. It follows that medical insurance must be made compulsory, in whole or in part. How that is to be done is another matter."

"Every existing system," he admits, "has shortcomings. Either waiting-time for treatment is enormously long, as in Sweden; or short cuts can be taken through payments under the table, as has been happening in Israel recently. Suppose an

insurance system is used: you pay for your treatment and send the bill to the insurance company. Doctors are apt to inflate their earnings by giving more treatment than the patient really needs."

The solution does not have to be outright privatization. It might be possible, he suggests tentatively, to replace the present centralized Kupat Holim by a number of smaller funds with greater control allotted to members.

Daniel Doron believes in the Milton-Friedman principle that there is no free lunch; everything has a price. That principle is not refuted, he maintains, in the system of unlimited medical attention financed by flat monthly dues. People must defray at least part of the price for the treatment they receive and the medicines they buy.

He cites the French national insurance system: the patient pays the doctor's bill and gets a refund of his outlay – but not all of it. Insurance covers only 80 per cent; the remaining 20 per cent coming from his own pocket. He therefore has some interest in keeping treatment costs down.

Lev-Hari does not object to privatizing the health services, with each citizen paying his own doctor or financing his own medical insurance – provided that compulsory cover is instituted for major medical expenses. People can cope with run-of-the-mill sickness problems, but may be left stranded if a costly operation beyond their means is needed. This is where the intervention of the public authority is necessary and justified.

THE PROBLEM, as Kleiman sees it, is not ownership but management. The best guarantee of good management is not government ownership, which may be misjudged, or private ownership, which may be monopolistic; but subjection, via the system of profit and loss, to market competition.

Israel's foremost problem is to create that fully competitive market, which means dismantling all the price and other protective controls.

"Let people who cannot meet their obligations go bankrupt," Kleiman declares. He includes dentists and lawyers and insurance agents currently entrenched in guilds which segregate them from the pressures of supply and demand.

Once the barriers are removed and true competition prevails, all institutions and undertakings which supply goods or services that can be sold to particular recipients for cash should be given autonomy. They should be liberated from all controls except that of the market.

Who owns the shares, whether the government or the Histadrut or a cooperative society or a person resident abroad, is not of the first importance. Private ownership is preferable for one reason: that a public authority may refuse to be guided by the forces of the market.

There are, on the other hand, institutions supplying services which have "external" economies. The army defends everybody all the time. Roads inside cities are available to everybody all the time. Primary schooling is essential for everybody, otherwise society cannot function. These genuinely public services have to stay in the hands of the public authority, and are likely to remain outside the checks and balances of the market system for evermore.

For some of our elderly, preparing for the Seder is like making bricks without straw.

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